

LONDON MAGAZINE.

I A N U A R Y, 1742.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from the Appendix, 1741.

In the Debate begun in the said Appendix, Page 654, the Motion made by L. Valerius Flaccus, was first opposed by L. Junius Brutus, in a Speech to the Effect as follows, viz.

Mr. President, SIR,



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T is an unfortunate State we are fallen into, that every Seffion of Parliament must Laws, or new Clauses

in old Laws, for oppressing the industrious Subject, and endangering the Liberties of the Country. It is impossible to levy high Duties upon the Necessaries or Conveniencies of Life, it is impossible to keep up C numerous standing Armies, without fuch Laws, or fuch Clauses; and yet we have, for twenty Years, been contriving how to continue and ingroan under, were introduced for

supporting a heavy and expensive, but necessary war; but how the keeping up of a numerous standing Army in Time of Peace, was introduced, I can no other Way account A for than by supposing, that it was necessary for supporting unpopular, destructive Measures, and a hated Minister. I am surprized to hear the forcible Quartering of Soldiers, upon publick or private Houses, infifted on, as if it were a necessary be attended with new B Means for the Support of our Government. Sir, if we were to attend firially to our Constitution, even as it stands at present, we ought, in no Mutiny Bill, to admit of the Quartering of Soldiers, even on Publick-houses, except for a few Nights, in their March from one Garison to another, or for the first Night after they arrive at the Place defigned for their Residence. Tho' we now keep up, tho' we have long crease both. The high Duties we D kept up a great Number of standing Forces in Time of Peace, yet, properly

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perly speaking, they are no more than is supposed to be necessary for Guards and Garifons; and accordingly, the Refolution annually agreed to in this House is, " That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garisons A in Great Britain, for the ensuing Year, shall be such a Number as is then thought necessary." Before the Revolution, we had Guards and Garisons, even in Time of Peace; but before the Revolution, nor for iome Years after, we had no Quar- B tering of Soldiers, either upon publick or private Houses, in Time of Peace, without the Consent of the Owner. On the contrary, by an express Law, the latter End of King Charles IId's Reign, it was enacted, " That no Officer, military or C civil, or other Person, shall quarter or billet any Soldier upon any Inhabitant of this Realm, without his Confent;" which Law stood in force till near the End of the Year 1692, when the first Law was made houses.

Before that Year, Sir, our Guards and Garifons, by which, I mean all the Soldiers we had on foot, even in their marching from one Place to another, were obliged to lers do, in Houses that were willing to receive them; and when they came to any Garison or Place where they were to refide, every Officer and Soldier provided Quarters for himself; in which, I believe, there was no Inconvenience found; for F when Soldiers behave civilly, and are agreeable to the People, there will always be Houses enough, either publick or private, that will be glad to receive them for what they are able to pay, unless there be a greater Number of them than the G Place can conveniently accommoate. From the Revolution to the ear 1692, we had a Sort of civil

War amongst ourselves, for Ireland was not entirely reduced till the End of the Year 91; and as inter arma filent leges, perhaps, during that Time, some Liberties were taken with the Laws, in respect to Quartering or Billeting of Soldiers. But in the Year 92, the domestick Tranquillity of the three Kingdoms being re-established, the Parliament began to think of restoring the Laws to their pristine Force. However, as we were then engaged in a dangerous foreign War, and upon that Account obliged to keep a greater Number of Troops in the Kingdom than usual; and as our Troops were often obliged to march in great Bodies, either from one Place of the Kingdom to another, as Danger threatened, or through the Kingdom in their Way to Flanders, the Parliament faw it would be necessary to provide Quarters for them upon their March, in a different Manner from what had before been allowed by Law; and therefore in the Mutiny for quartering Soldiers in Publick- D Bill for the ensuing Year, which then first began to be intitled, A Bill for punishing Officers and Soldiers who shall mutiny or defert their Majesties Service, and for punishing falle Musters, and for the Payment of Quarters, the Clause for quartering quarter themselves as other Travel- E Soldiers in Publick-houses, without Confent of the Owner, was introduced, and has ever fince remained in all the Mutiny Bills paffed, to this very Day; for a favourite Power once granted to the Crown, is feldom recovered by the Subject, withour fome remarkable Revolution in our Government.

But, by this Clause, as the Act then stood, it was not intended, that Soldiers should be quartered or billeted in the Places appointed for their Refidence, even upon Publickhouses, without the Consent of the Owner. At least it was not intenda ed, they should be so quartered for any longer than the first Night after

their Arrival. That this was the Intention of the Act, is, I think, plain, from the next Clause of the Act, whereby it is enacted, " That Officers and Soldiers billetted, as directed by the preceding Clause, shall be appointed by the Justices of Peace in their Quarter Sessions; and the Justices are thereby required to fet Rates for Provisions, for one or more Nights in their Marching, and for the first Night only in Places appointed for their Residence."

This, I think, Sir, plainly shews, that in Places appointed for the Refidence of Soldiers for any Time, neither Officer nor Soldier was to be quartered for more than the first Night, upon any House, publick or private; and the Reason is evi- C dent, because, being then settled, if they could not agree with their Landlords where they were first lodged, for a Continuance, they might next Day look out for, and provide new Lodgings or Quarters tended to give any Soldier, and much less an Officer, a Right to lodge in the best Room of an Inn or Ale-house, without paying any Thing for it, and that, perhaps, for a Year, or feveral Years together. Even when they were upon a March, E or for the first Night after their Argival at the Place appointed for their Residence, they were not to have their Lodging absolutely free; because the suffices were certainly to have a Regard to the Expence and Trouble of lodging them, when they F fettled the Rates they were to pay for Provisions. The modern Practice of giving every Officer and Soldier a free Lodging in the House where he is quartered, whether he spends any of his Money there or is appoited to relide, as well as when he is upon a March, would then have been rejected with great

dons.

Contempt, if it had been proposed; for it is really laying a Tax upon the Subject, without the Confent of Parliament, at least without any fuch Confent obtained in a regular Manner, and according to the usual shall pay such reasonable Prices as A Methods of proceeding in Parliament, when the Subjects, or any Part of them, are to be loaded with a new Tax. But, a Foundation being thus laid for obliging our Publickhouses to give free Lodging to the Soldiers for a few Nights in their March, and for the first Night after their Arrival at the Place where they were appointed to refide, a Pretence was from thence taken to infift, that Soldiers were always to be a Load upon our Publick-houses, and to be intitled to have always a free Lodging even in the Places appointed for their Residence. Perhaps the Words of this first Law were left a little doubtful, on purpose to draw this Inference from them; but this was not enough, for in order to give Soldiers a less doubtfor themselves. It was not then in D ful Title to this free Lodging for ever, the Words of the Law were afterwards altered, and the Justices were required to fet and appoint fuch reasonable Rates for all necessary Provisions for such Officers and Soldiers, for one or more Nights, in the feveral Places which they shall come to in their March, or which shall be appointed for their Residence and Quarters ...

Thus, Sir, you fee what an incroaching Thing an Army is, and, I wish, it did not increach upon us in any more dangerous Respect. This of free Lodging for Soldiers is now become a continual and fettled Tax upon the Publick-houses, in all Places where Soldiers are usually appointed to refide. Every fuch House has generally one Soldier at no, and even in the Place where he G least quartered upon it; and if the Landlord does not give his Guest fuch a Lodging as pleases him, he must pay him such a Sum weekly

as he shall demand, for his furnishing himfelf with a Lodging. Here in Westminfter it is by Custom fettled at 9d. a Week, that is 39s. per Annum, for a common Soldier; and confequently the Officers, if they mand a great deal more. Is not this, Sir, taxing the Subject? Is it not increasing the Pay of the Soldier, without any proper legal Authority for either? This Tax, Sir, is the more grievous, because of its being raised upon a Part of the B People only; and it is the more dangerous, because a Minister may raise it in what Places, and in what Proportions he pleases, and confequently may make it a Handle for oppressing those Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, that do not fend him up C fuch Members to this House, as he shall please to direct. But this Handle is not, it feems, sufficient, therefore fome new Strength must be added to it; and for this, a Pretence is taken from some Clauses in our late Mutiny Acts, which, I D think, can admit of no such Meaning. The Inn-keeper, or Victualler, must now, it is faid, furnish the Soldiers quartered upon him, not only with Lodging, but also with Board, both according to the Liking of the Soldier, and yet he is to have E no more for both than a Groat a Day, even in Times of the greatest Scarcity. The Soldier may infift upon what Sort of Victuals, and what Quantity he pleases, but let him eat of what he will, or how much he will, the poor Landlord must not F charge above a Groat a Day. In Times of Plenty, the Soldier will furnish himself, because he can, perhaps, do it at 2 d. a Day; but in Times of Scarcity, he will oblige his Landlord to furnish him, because he cannot do it perhaps un. G der 8d. a Day. Is this just, Sir? Is it equitable? Is it possible to suppose that an Act of Parliament

should establish such an Imposition? I do not know, Sir, nor do I much regard, what Opinion the Lawyers may have given; because they generally give their Opinion according as the Cafe is flated to should infift on it, might furely de- A them; and therefore, when the Cafe is falsely stated, their Opinion must be wrong. This feems to be the Case at present. The Question is not, what an Inn-keeper or Victualler may demand, if he does furnish the Soldiers quartered upon him with Provisions; for it is plain he cannot demand, at least he cannot recover, more than a Groat a Day; because the Pay-master can stop no more of a Soldier's Pay on that Account; and how the Victualler can otherwise recover it, I believe no Lawyer, nor even a Conjurer can tell. The only Question therefore is, whether an Inn-keeper or Victualler be obliged to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them with Provisions; and this, I think, admits of as little Doubt as the other. He certainly is not obliged to do fo, by any express Words in the Mutiny Bill paffed last Year. By a Clause in that Bill, as well as many former, the Inn-keeper is obliged to receive the Soldiers quartered upon him: He must let them into his House: He must not shut his Doors against them; but this is all he is obliged to do by that Law: Even his furnishing them with Beds is by that Law left, as it should be, depending upon his Courtefy; and hitherto it has produced no Dispute. nor have the Soldiers been left unaccommodated, except in a few very extraordinary Cases, which can afford no Foundation for any Alteration in the Law.

Both the Inflances that have been mentioned, are of this Kind. The Dispute at Wakefield I am far from being furprized at; I am furprized, Sir, there were not fuch Disputes last Winter all over the whole King-

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dom. It was cruel to oblige Innkeepers to furnish Hay and Straw to the Soldiers Horses, at the Rate of 6d. per Diem, when Hay and Straw bore such monstrous Prices; nay, when their own Cattle were perwere in the Right to allow 8d. Can it be faid, that a Trooper or Dragoon could not afford 8 d. for his Horse, at a Time when there was fuch a Scarcity of all Sorts of Fodder? Why may not a Trooper or Dragoon live upon 4d. as well as a B Foot Soldier? Suppose he allowed 8 d. for his Horse, he had 4 d. a Day for himself; and with that, or with the worse Fare for himself, he should have been content; especially as he knew, the Scarcity of Fodder could not be of a very long Continuance.

The Affair at Ledbury too, Sir, was a Case of a very extraordinary Nature. The People there did not like at that Time to have any Soldiers among them, or at least not fo many of them; because they thought themselves oppressed, and D knew that the Soldiers were fent there, to prevent their taking their own Way for freeing themselves from that Oppression. I do not say it was wrong to fend Soldiers there. or to fend fuch a Number of them; because, whether the People were E oppressed or no, they had taken a very wrong Method to free themselves from that Oppression. They had chosen a riotous and tumultuous Way of doing it; and a Gentleman in the Neighbourhood, who had acted the Part of a bold and wor- F thy Magistrate, had not only been infulted by the Mob, but was in Danger of being murdered by them. The People in that Neighbourhood had behaved in a most riotous and obstinate Manner upon that Occafion; but furely the Obstinacy of G the People in a particular Corner, and upon a particular Occasion, is not to be pleaded as a Reason for oppressing the whole Kingdom.

The few Disputes that have happened, Sir, in fuch a long Courfe of Years, between the Soldiers and the People where they are quartered, is a much stronger Reason for continuing the Law as it is. The haps dying for Want. The Justices A Harmony between the Soldiers and People may hitherto be faid to have been general: But do not let us depend, Sir, upon the Continuance of this Harmony, if we should begin to keep up a greater Number of Troops, or even if we should continue to keep up the same Number for many Years to come. The People must always suffer many Hardships by the Quartering of Soldiers. and these Hardships must increase or diminish in Proportion as we increase or diminish our standing Army. The People have for many Years expected a Diminution of our Army, and consequently a Diminution of the Hardships they suffer from thence. They have every Year hoped it would be the last, and that the next Year would put an End to most of the Hardships they suffered on Account of our Army. However sharp-fighted our Ministers and Parliament-Men have been, in feeing those Dangers which have all along been pretended as the Reason for keeping up such a numerous standing Army, the People could perceive none of these Dangers, or at least they supposed, that such tremendous Prospects would not regularly present themselvos to View every succeeding Winter, and this confirmed them in their annual Hopes, that next Session of Parliament would reduce the Army, and that our regular Troops would at last come really to be, what they are every Year supposed to be by Parliament, nothing but Guards and Garifons, which would of course free all those who do not live in the Purlieus of a Garison, or the Sunshine of a Court, from the Burden of quartering Soldiers.

But, Sir, the People have been fo long disappointed in these Expectations, that it is to be feared, they will foon grow desperate. They will despair of ever seeing themfelves relieved from the Hardships Army. The Suspicion will become general, that fuch a numerous Army is not kept up to protect us against foreign Dangers, or because it is neceffary for the just Ends of Government, but because it is necessary for Supporting and enforcing the weak B or oppressive Measures of an Administration. In this Case, every Corner of the Kingdom will become a Ledbury: The Soldiers will become every where hateful to the People, and the People will become despicable in the Eyes of the Soldiers. C There will then be no Courtefy, no Harmony between the Soldiers and the Persons upon whom they are quartered. The latter will furnish nothing to their unwelcome Guests, but what they are in the utmost nish; and every Soldier will exact with the utmost Rigour whatever he thinks himself intitled to by Law. This will of course occasion many Broils between the People and the Soldiers, and may at last occafion an Infurrection; which will E probably end in a total Reduction of the Army, or in the Establishment of a military Government.

This Consequence, I say, Sir, is to be apprehended even from the Army you have now on Foot, and from the Laws you have now in F Force, with regard to the Quartering of Soldiers; but if by new Laws you increase the Demands of the Soldier upon his Quarters, and at the fame Time oblige the Perfons upon whom he is quartered to of this fatal Consequence will be very much accelerated. I fay, Sir, if by any new Law you increase

the Demands of the Soldier; for whatever Gentlemen may think, the Soldier's Demands upon his Quarters will be very much increased by what is now proposed. At present he does not think, that his Landthey groan under, with respect to the A lord is obliged to furnish him with Diet and Small Beer at the Rate of a Groat a Day, and therefore he defires no better Fare than may be furnished at that Price; but if you oblige the Landlord to furnish the Soldier with Diet and Small Beer for a Groat a Day, the Soldier will infift upon much better Provisions, and perhaps a greater Quantity too, than what he now chearfully accepts of. The immediate Confequence of this will be, that a great many of our Inn-keepers and other Publick-houses will give over that Bufiness, and betake themselves to fome other Way of Living. This will increase the Burden upon those that continue in the Bufiness, which will foon make many of them follow the same Course; so that at Scrietness of Law obliged to fur Dlast you may not have, in many Places, a sufficient Number of Publick-houses, for receiving a Party of Soldiers upon their March; and the Confequence of this is, that they must either lie in the Fields, or be quartered upon private Houses. The former they would not submit to, the latter I dread to think of, and therefore I am against the Clause proposed. The same and and input has same a general but

Upon this L. Valerius Flaccus flood up again, and spoke in Substance thus. a 2.00 r - mer ed deside

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WHEN I opened this Affair to you, and gave my Reasons for the Claufe I took the Liberty to answer those Demands, the Approach Goffer, I told you, that the Case had been lately rendered doubtful, by fome Peoples refufing to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet

Diet and Small Beer, or, indeed, with any Thing elfe; and that upon this a Law-fuit was intended to be commenced, in order to have this Question determined. If there had been any express Words in the Law for obliging Inn-keepers and others A to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at the Rate of a Groat a Day, no fuch Doubt could ever have arisen, no Man would have been so mad as to have refused it, when the express Words of the Law appeared against B him, nor would there have been any Necessity to have troubled you with a new Clause upon this Occafion. But will the Hon. Gentleman fay, that nothing is ever comprehended within the Meaning and Intention of a Law, tho' not declared C in express Words? This is the very Case now before us: The Question that has arisen, is not upon the express Words, but upon the Meaning and Intention of the Law; and if there was ever any Obligation creathe Meaning and Intention of a Law, I think, there is, from the Meaning and Intention of this Law, a plain Obligation laid upon Innkeepers and others, to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them, with as convenient a Lodging as they can afford, and with necessary Provihons, that is to fay, Diet and Small Beer, at fuch a Rate as shall be appointed by the Justices, not exceeding a Groat a Day.

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this Opinion I am supported, not only by the Opinion of several emiment Lawyers, but also by as plain Inferences as were ever in this World drawn from any Law. This, I think, will appear evident, if we Clauses, in the last Mutiny Act, which relate to this Question. The first says, " That Soldiers quartered

as aforesaid, shall be received by the Owners of Inns, and other Houses, in which they are allowed to be quartered by that Act; and shall pay such reasonable Prices as shall be appointed from Time to Time by the Justices:" And then, by the same Clause, the Justices are impowered and required to fet and appoint reasonable Rates for all necessary Provisions for such Soldiers. Now, Sir, if the Law did not intend to oblige the Inn-keeper to furnish the Soldiers with necessary Provisions, for what End was the Justice obliged to interfere? If the Innkeeper was to agree to furnish the Soldier with necessary Provisions, he would not certainly agree, unless the Soldier on his Part agreed to pay him fuch Prices as he infifted on; and, if they two agreed together, what had the Justice to do in the Affair, or why should the Law oblige him to interpose? Nay, his Interpolition would fignify nothing; for if the Inn-keeper agreed to take ted or established by Inserence from Dless than the Rate appointed by the Justices, they could not prevent his taking less; and, if the Soldier agreed to pay more, they could not prevent his paying it. Therefore, from the Law's requiring the Juftices to interpole, I think, it is evia convenient Lodging, at least with E dent, that it meant to oblige the Inn-keeper to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon him, with necessary Provisions; because, otherwise, the greatest Part of this Clause would be most impertinent and useless.

The other Clause, Sir, which re-This, Sir, is my Opinion, and in F lates to this Question, is that which is intended for fecuring the Innkeeper's Payment; and here I must observe, that oue of the chief Defigns of this Law, as appears from the very Title, is to provide effectually for paying the Quarters of the will but feriously consider the two G Army; and how does it provide? By enacting, " That the Pay-mafter, when he receives the Soldiers Pay, shall give Notice to all Inn-keepers

and others to bring in their Accounts; and that he shall accept of; and immediately pay those Accounts, before any Part of the Subfiftence be distributed to the Soldiers; but with this Proviso; that fuch Accounts shall not exceed 4d. A per Diem for a Foot Soldier's Diet and Small Beer. Can we suppose that a Law chiefly intended for fecuring the Payment of the Army's Quarters, would have had such a Proviso, if it had intended, either that the Inn-keeper should have Li- B berty to charge more, or that the Justices should have a Power to appoint a higher Rate for that Article. To suppose so is, I think, supposing the Law-makers to have been guilty of a very great Absurdity. But the utmost a Soldier could allow for Diet and Small Beer; and they restrained both the Inn-keeper and Justice from exceeding that Sum. Inn-keeper must therefore take care to provide such Diet and Small Beer D spective Rights. for his Soldier, as may be afforded for that Price; and this the Soldier must be satisfied with, because he can pay for no better.

Thus, Sir, as to the Question's being without any Doubt, I agree with the Hon. Gentleman that spoke E last; and yet, he and I differ very widely in our Opinion. He thinks, it is the Negative Side of the Queftion that is certain and without any Doubt, and I think, it is the Affirmative. I think, that by a plain Inference from, tho' not by any ex- F press Words in the Law, the Innkeeper is certainly obliged to furnish the Soldier quartered upon him with Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat a Day; and he thinks that, neither from the Words nor the keeper can be obliged to furnish the Soldier with Diet and Small Beer, at that or any other Price, but that

if he does furnish him, he can recover no more than a Groat a Day. I shall not therefore say it is a Doubt, because that Word seems to offend, but it is a Difference in Opinion that makes the Clause I have offered necessary; and as we have now the Opportunity before us, I think we ought to determine that Difference, and prevent the Expence of a Law-fuit, both to the Publick and to the private Persons that may be concerned. As we are now apprised of this Difference in Opinion, about the Meaning of some of the Clauses in the former Law, I think, it would be a Neglect of Duty in us to revive that Law, without determining that Difference; for, I am fure, we ought contrary is, in my Opinion, very C not, knowing, to make a Law that evident. They wisely considered the must create a Law-suit, and there is nothing more apt to occasion Difputes, and even Broils between the Soldiers and the People upon whom they are quartered, than their differing in Opinion about their re-

I am so well convinced, Sir, of the Inconveniencies and Dangers that may enfue from leaving this Difference in Opinion subfifting, that I should rather chuse to have it expresly declared, that Inn-keepers shall not be obliged to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them with Diet and Small Beer, than to have it remain in the Uncertainty it is at present. But if you should determine the Question in this Way, I am persuaded no Inn-keeper, Victualler, or other Person, upon whom Soldiers are usually quartered, would furnish them with Provisions at the Rates which they are able to pay. The Juffices appointing a certain Rate for Provisions would in that Case fignify nothing; because, if Meaning of the Law, the Inn-G the Inn-keeper did not like the Rate appointed by the Juttices, he would furnish no Provisions: The Soldier must provide for himself;

and this might be rendered impossible by a Combination among the Tradefmen and Inhabitants of a Country Town, which Combination would, very probably, be entered into in all Country Towns, and have any Soldiers among them. There is, therefore, I think, a Neceffity for obliging some Sort of People or other to furnish the Soldiers with necessary Provisions; and none are so proper to be laid under this Obligation as the Persons upon B

whom they are quartered.

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Then, Sir, with regard to what the Soldier is to pay for Diet and Small Beer, you may fettle it at what you will, or not fettle it at all if you please; but I am very sure, a Soldier cannot pay above a Groat C a Day for Diet and Small Beer, because the Sublistence Money actually paid him by the Government, never, or but very feldom, exceeds that Sum : A common Soldier has, indeed, Six-pence a Day allowed him; but then, the Deductions made D for Cloathing, for Stockings, Shoes, Shaving, and other Incidents, re-duces his Pay to very little above a Groat a Day for his Subliftence. This, therefore, is the highest he can give for Diet and Small Beer; and as a House-keeper may always E provide for a fingle Man lodged in his House, at a cheaper Rate than fuch fingle Man can provide for himself, I am convinced, there is not, at present, a Place in England, where a House-keeper may not furnish a Soldier lodged in his House, F with Diet and Small Beer, at less than a Groat a Day. In Times of Scarcity, 'tis true, it may be difficult to furnish him with Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat a Day; but, at fuch Times, the Soldier must take up with the worse Fare; and, G as they very seldom happen, they cannot be made a Foundation for any established Regulation. A Fa-

mine may, indeed, arise in the Land: Such a Scarcity of Provifions of all Kinds may happen, as to render it impossible for a Soldier to sublist upon a Groat a Day; but, if any fuch Calamity should happen even in Cities, that do not like to A in the Country, and should continue for any Time, it would be absolutely necessary for the Government, to make a temporary Addition to the Soldiers Pay; for it is not to be expected, that a Body of Men with Arms in their Hands, will allow themselves to starve. You must enable them to purchase a Subfistence: If you do not, they will take it by Force. You must provide for them by Law: If you do not, they will provide for themselves against Law. If you oblige the Owners of Houses where Soldiers are quartered, to furnish them with Diet and Small Beer at a Groat a Day, it may, in a Time of Scarcity, in some Places, be a Loss to the Owners of such Houses; but that Loss, I hope, will never be general, or of any long Continuance, and confequently can never be fo great as to come within the Notice of the Law, for de minimis non curat Lex.

I shall grant, Sir, that if such a Scarcity as this were to be of any long Continuance, and no additional Pay given to the Soldiers, in order to enable and oblige them to make an additional Allowance to their Landlords for Diet and Small Beer, it would force many of our Publickhouses to give over their Business, because the Loss they had sustained would disable them from continuing it; but an Inn-keeper, Alehousekeeper, or Victualler's being at a small Loss for a Week or two in a Year, or for a Month or two in feven, by being obliged to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon him with Diet and Small Beer, will never force him to give over his Bufinefs, even tho' our Army were much more numerous than it is; nor will

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his being so obliged, occasion any Broils between him and the Soldiers; because, if they should not rest satisfied with such Fare as he may afford them for a Groat a Day, and should, on that Account, be Quarters, he may have an easy Remedy, without any Expence, by complaining to the commanding Officer, who must, in order to recommend himself to the Government, be always ready to hear fuch Complaints, and to give Redress by pu- B nishing the Soldier when he de-

ferves it.

From this Confideration it is, Sir, that if any Thing is, by Law, to be left to Courtefy and Civility, it ought, I think, to be left to the Courtefy and Civility of the Soldier C rather than his Landlord; because the former may, by martial Law, be punished for Want of Courtely or Civility, but I know no Law by which the latter can; and, from Experience we find, we have less Reason to accuse Soldiers of Want D of Civility, than we have to accuse their Landlords; which may be owing to this very Reason, that the Officers are always at hand, and have a Power to punish Soldiers for any rude Behaviour in their Quarters, whereas, the Persons upon E whom they are quartered, are liable to no such Check. In the Affair at Wakefield, if it had not been for a most feasonable and prudent Interpolition of the commanding Officer, a most dangerous Tumult might have ensued; for the Townsmen F had exasperated the Soldiers to such a Degree, that it was with the utmost Difficulty the commanding Officer prevented their coming to Blows; and, if he had not had a great deal of Prudence, as well as great Authority over the Men under G his Command, he could not have restrained them from revenging themfelves upon fome of those Persons PERSONAL PROPERTY AND

that had used them so ill. I shall, therefore, never be afraid of putting it in the Power of Soldiers, to demand from their Landlords what is necessary for their Sublistence, at fuch Prices as they can afford to uncivil and troublesome in their Apay; but I am extremely asraid of putting it in the Power af those Persons upon whom Soldiers are quartered, to make it impossible for them to subfift; which will, I think, be the Case, if you do not agree to fome such Regulation as I have

proposed.

The Hon. Gentleman fays, the Cases that have been mentioned are of an extraordinary Nature, and ought not, therefore, to be made a Foundation for altering the Law. Sir, the Case of Wakefield, and the Case of Ledbury, are not the only two Cases that might be mention'd: In many other Places, as well as there, the Inn-keepers and Alehouse-keepers have refused to furnish the Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer, or with Fire and the necessary Utenfils for dreffing their own Provisions; and now the Question is started, I make no Doubt, but that in a short Time the Soldiers will meet with the same Refusal in every Corner of the three Kingdoms. It was never questioned, till very lately, but that an Inn-keeper or Victualler was obliged to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon him with Diet and Small Beer, at fuch Rates as the Juffices should appoint, not exceeding a Groat a Day; but of late they have been by some Lawyers advifed, that they are not obliged by Law to do fo; and therefore we may expect, that from henceforth, none of them will furnish the Soldiers quartered on them with Diet or Small Beer, or with Firing, Salt, or any Kitchen Utenfil for dreffing the Provisions they buy for themselves, which, in my Opinion, will make it impossible for the Soldiers to subfift, especially when they are upon

upon a March from one Part of the Kingdom to another; and the neceffary Consequence of this will, I think, be a Mutiny in the Army, which I dread much more than any Danger that can arise from obliging Inn-keepers and others, to furnish A the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at fuch reasonable Rates as the Justices shall appoint, not exceeding a Groat a

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I shall admit, Sir, that it is a little unequal, and will be a Sort of B Hardship upon the Owners of Publick-houses, to oblige them to furnish Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer at a Groat a Day, when Provisions are dear; and yet, to leave it in the Power of the Soldier to furnish himself, or in the Power of C the Justices to make the Owners of fuch Houses take less, when Provifions are cheap; this, I fay, I shall admit to be a Hardship, because in Times of Plenty the Owners of such Houses can have no Opportunity to repair the Loss they suffered in D? Times of Scarcity. But, Sir, it is a Hardship arising from publick Neceflity, and must therefore be submitted to. Is not the Quartering of Soldiers a Hardship as well as this? And yet no Scruple has ever Publick-houses peculiarly to this Hardship. It is a less Hardship upon them, than it would be upon any other Part of the People; and as their Business is more profitable and easy, than most other Sorts of inferior Degree usually betake themselves to, the Parliament wisely, and I think, justly too, resolved, that they alone should bear this Burden, as often as publick Necessities should require. The Inequality, therefore, of this Burden or Tax, if you please G Laws that have been made for this to call it so, is not to be complain'd of; and if the Quartering of Soldiers were made a Handle of for

oppressing any City, Borough, or Corporation in the Kingdom, especially for the Sake of influencing Elections, I make no Doubt, but that we should soon hear a Complaint of it in this House, and upon that Complaint I as little doubt, that the Authors of fuch Oppression would meet with condign Punishment.

Thus, Sir, as I see no Dangers that can accrue from the Clause I have offered; as I apprehend many Inconveniencies, and even Danger too, from the Law's being left as it is, I must still hope to see what I have taken the Liberty to offer, or some Clause to the same Effect, made a Part of the Bill now under your Confideration.

The next that spoke was Cn. Octavius, whose Speech was to the following Effett.

Mr. Prefident, SIR,

HE Obscurity and Uncertainty of the Law now under our Confideration, proceeds from a very natural Cause, a Cause which renders all Laws obscure, that are intended by the Promoters to incroach upon the Rights, Liberties, and Pribeen made to subject the Owners of E vileges of the People. By the Laws of England, ever fince we had fuch a Thing as an established Constitution, a Man's House is reckoned his Castle; no Stranger, no civil Officer is to enter into it without his Confent, unless he has committed, Employments, which People of an F or is suspected to have committed fome Crime. This was the Privilege which every Englishman anciently enjoy'd; but Taxes and standing Armies have now deprived most of the Subjects of England of this valuable Privilege; and in all the Purpose we may observe an Obseurity, which by Degrees only has been cleared up. At first the Pro-Bz

new or more extensive Incroachments

upon the Liberties of the People. These gradual Incroachments, Sir, are in no Case more apparent than B in what relates to the Law now under our Confideration. When this Project of quartering Soldiers upon Publick-houses, without the Consent of the Owners, was first thought of, it would have founded very harsh in the Ears of an Englishman, to have C feen a Clause inserted, for compelling the Owners, even of fuch Houses, to receive such Guests, whether they would or no. The Prejectors were therefore obliged to content themselves with a Clause for giving and chief Magistrates to quarter Soldiers upon fuch Houses, and they faid they defired this Liberty, only for Soldiers upon a March, and for the first Night of their Arrival in the Places appointed for their Refipose, that the Owners of such Houies would willingly receive fuch Soldiers as were quartered upon them by the Civil Magistrate, but this Supposition they took Care not to have expressed in the Law itself: because if it had been expressed in F the Law, it would then have plainly appeared, that there was only a Liberty, which was all they then foemed to ask, granted to the Civil Magistrate, to quarter or billet Soldiera upon Publick-houses, but that to be left to Cuftom, because they knew, that few private Men would

like to dispute the Power of their Magistrates; and if any such Difpute should arise, the Projectors trusted to their being able to get it explained in their Favour by fome new Clause. Accordingly, Sir, when the Dispute or Question was started, whether the Owner of a Publick-house was obliged to receive the Soldiers quartered upon him by the Civil Magistrate, they at last got that Clause inserted, which has fince stood in all Mutiny Bills, whereby it is enacted, "That the Owners of fuch Houses shall receive the Soldiers fo quartered upon them."

Thus, Sir, that which was at first defired as a Liberty only, has fince been converted into a Power; and that Liberty or Power which was at first defired to be temporary only, that is to fay, to quarter Soldiers for one or more Nights in their marching, and for the first Night only in Places appointed for their Residence, has been fince made perpetual, by Liberty, not a Power, to Constables Da very small and imperceptible Alteration in the Words of the Clause. When this Liberty or Power of quartering Soldiers upon Publick-houses, without the Confent of the Owner, was first asked, the Parliament would have been amazed if it had been dence. They were forced to sup- E expressly asked, that Soldiers should always be necessary Inmates in Publick-houses, that they should always have a Lodging at free Cost, even in the Places appointed for their Residence: Such a Proposal the Parliament would then certainly have rejected with Disdain. This the Projectors were fensible of, and therefore they afk'd only for one or more Nights upon a March, and for the first Night only after their Arrival at the Place appointed for their Refidence; but as they had the drawhe had no Power to compel fuch Ging up of the Bill, and were re-Houses to receive them. This was folved, if possible, to extend it farther than was then defired, they took Care that this Restriction should not be inferted in express Words. or in the proper Place, but brought in, as it were by Head and Shoulders, at the End of that Clause which requires the Justices to ap-

point Rates for Provisions.

By this Means, Sir, our standing A Army Projectors at first obtained a Liberty to quarter Soldiers, by the Interposition of the Civil Magistrate, upon Publick-houses, for one or more Nights upon their March, and for the first Night only in Places appointed for their Residence; and B a Foundation for a temporary Lodging at free Cost, being thus laid, when the Mutiny Act was revived in the first Year of the late Queen Anne, our Army Projectors took Care to lay a better Foundation for rendering this temporary Privilege per-C petual, by requiring Justices to appoint such reasonable Rates for all necessary Provisions for such Officers and Soldiers, for one or more Nights in their marching thro' their Cities, Towns, and Villages, as shall be appointed for their Residence or Quarters. D In this Form this Clause continued for several Years; but at last it began to be conceived in these Words. And the Justices of the Peace aforefaid are hereby impowered and required to fet and appoint such reavisions, for one or more Nights, in the feveral Places which Soldiers shall come to in their March, or which shall be appointed for their Residence and Quarters;" in which Words, or Words to this Effect, the Clause has stood ever fince. This, F as appears, is but a very small Variation from the Clause as it stood at first; and, I am persuaded, it was imperceptibly introduced, that is to fay, without being taken Notice of by those who were the true and finthe Liberties of their Country. The Misfortune is, that those who are for keeping up standing Armies,

have generally the drawing up of fuch Bills; and this makes it easy for them to introduce, imperceptibly, very material and dangerous Variations, when they are not most

strictly look'd after.

But this, Sir, is not the only Misfortune: They have not only the drawing up of the Bills, but they have the Execution of them after they are passed into Laws; and in the Execution they put that Interpretation upon them that best suits their own Purposes, in which they are encouraged by a Backwardness, too common among private Men, to contend with the Government about the Interpretation of a Law, which probably was made obscure, on Purpose to enable those intrusted with the Executive Power to carry it farther than was ever dreamed of, or would have been approved of by a Majority of those intrusted with the Legislative. Thus, tho' our Army Gentlemen had for feveral Years no Power, and for many Years no express Power, to quarter Soldiers in the Places appointed for their Residence, except for the first Night only after their Arrival there, yet they introduced the Custom of quartering Soldiers even in Places appointed for their Residence, and fonable Rates for all necessary Pro- E during the whole Time of their Residence; so that the Quartering of Soldiers, instead of being a temporary, became a perpetual Burden upon the Publick-houses in Westminfler, and many other Parts of the Kingdom. And this Custom being once introduced, they at last got a Sort of legal Authority for it, by getting a Clause inserted in the Mutiny Bill passed the 7th of the late Queen, whereby it was enacted, " That the Constables in Westminfler and Places adjacent, should bilcere Friends of the People, and of Glet Soldiers of the Foot Guards in fuch Houses only as by the Act are limited, in and about the City of Westminster; except the City of London. But this of quartering Soldiers in the Places appointed for, and during the whole Time of their Refidence, was deemed to be fuch a Grievance, that in the first Year of the late Kiug, and by the first Mutiny Bill passed in his Reign, a A Clause was inserted, by which it was enacted, "That nothing in that Act should extend to compel the Quartering of any Foot Soldiers in England, unless within ten Miles of his Majesty's usual Residence, or the Place where he should be present, B or in some Garison where sufficient Barracks were not provided, or upon their Marches; and that in fuch Marches no Persons should be obliged to quarter them above fix Days at a Time."

I have the more fully opened this C Affair to you, Sir, because when the present War is over, which, I fear, will not be foon, unless we pursue it with more Vigour than we have done hitherto, or put an End to it by an inglorious Peace: I fay, Sir, when the prefent War is over, D I hope we shall embrace the Opportunity of returning, as near as poffible, to our ancient Constitution. We may think it necessary to keep up some regular Troops in Time of Peace; but I can fee no Occasion we have for a Mutiny Bill, unless E when we are actually engaged in War. We kept up some regular Troops even in the peaceable Part of King William's Reign, and those Troops, fo far as I could ever hear. were kept in good enough Order without any Mutiny Bill; for from F the 10th of April 1698, to the 20th of February 1701, when a War with France and Spain began to be thought unavoidable, we had no Mutiny Act fubfifting in this Kingdom; and I shall always be against having any fuch Law subfissing, except when G absolutely necessary; because I do not like to make Slaves of those in Time of Peace, to whom we are to

truft our Honour and our Defence

in Time of War. Having thus given you my Sentiments about the Time for which Soldiers may or ought to be quartered, before I come to the very Point now in Question, I shall beg Leave to explain a little farther. how, and by what Degrees the Owners of Publick-houses were compelled to receive the Soldiers quartered upon them by the Civil Magistrate. I have already taken Notice, that when the Quartering of Soldiers upon such Houses was first ask'd for, it was ask'd for as a Liberty only, not as a Power. The Constables and Magistrates were not impowered and required, it is faid only, that they may quarter and billet Officers and Soldiers upon Inns and other Publick-houses: Nay, the Constables and Magistrates might have refused so to do: There was no Law for punishing them for such Refusal, till the first Year of his late Majesty's Reign, when a new Clause was inferted for that Purpose. And as to the Owners of Publick-houses. they were for many Years left entirely at Liberty, whether they should receive the Soldiers so quartered upon them; for I know of no Law that so much as seemed to oblige them to do fo, till the tenth of the late Queen Anne, and then this compulfatory Clause was introduced but in a partial Manner; for in that Law a new Clause was introduced, by which it was enacted, " That if any Person should be aggrieved by a Constable's billeting in his House a greater Number of Soldiers than he ought to bear in Proportion to his Neighbours, upon Complaint to a Justice of Peace, that Justice was to relieve him, by ordering fo many of the Soldiers to be removed, and quartered upon some other Persons, who shall be obliged to receive them accordingly.

I can find, in any of our Mutiny Acts, that feems to oblige Owners of Publick-houses to receive any of the Soldiers so quarter'd upon them; but this Foundation being once laid, a Pretence has from thence been taral Words in all our Mutiny Bills of late Years, by which it is enacted, " That the Officers and Soldiers fo quartered and billeted as aforesaid, shall be received by the Owners of the Inns and other Publick-houses;" and it is remarkable, that these B Words, which make fo great an Alteration in our Law, were not formed into a Clause by themselves, but were, as I may fay, stoln into the Beginning of that Clause, which enacts, "That the Soldiers shall pay furnished them by the Owners of the Houses, where they are quartered."

You may now see, Sir, by what flow, what hidden, and what imperceptible Degrees our Mutiny Act is arrived to its present Maturity D and Perfection; and now I must say, the finishing Touch seems to be defigned. Finishing I may call it, Sir, in a double Sense; it will be the finishing Touch to this Bill, and I am afraid, the finishing Blow to Soldiers, which I am forry for, and which we may come heartily to repent of, if we should ever have Occafion for their Courage; our Soldiers, I say, have long been made Slaves by this Bill; and now, the the Kingdom are to be made the Slaves of those Slaves: For this will be the Case, if we should by an express Law oblige the Owners of such Houses to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and whether they can, or no.

Sir, it is, in my Opinion, of very little Signification to the present

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Question, whether this was or was not the Meaning of all or any of the Mutiny Bills we have passed into Laws. I am very fure, I never thought it was; and if it were determined to be so, by the Decree ken, to infert some new and gene- A of any Court of Judicature in England, I should be for our taking the first Opportunity to alter the Law in this Respect. But when we talk of the Meaning and Intention of fuch. Laws, we ought to diffinguish between the Meaning and Intention, of those that were the chief Promoters of them, and the Meaning and Intention of those who only gave their Consent to the passing of them. As to the former, I make no Queftion, but it was their Meaning and Intention to oblige the Owners of, reasonable Prices for the Provisions C Publick-houses to furnish the Soldiers with all necessary Provisions, tho' they durft not declare their Intention in express Words, because it. would have either thrown out their Bill, or have occasioned the inserting of some express Words against what they intended: They therefore chose to draw up their Bill in a dubious Sort of Expression, that after they had got it passed into a Law, they might make the most of it in the Execution; and, indeed, they made so good an Use of their the Liberties of our Country. Our E Power in the Execution, that the Owners of most Publick-houses did agree to what they defired.

But in this, Sir, they were at first very much favoured by the Circumstances of the Times; because the Nation being at that Time engaged Owners of all the Publick-houses in F in a heavy and expensive War against France, the Revolution in its Infancy, and our publick Credit far from being so well established as it has been fince; our Government was often very short of Money, and very dilatory in their Payments to Small Beer, whether they will, nay G the Army, especially to those Regiments that remained within the Kingdom, who were fometimes for several Months together without re-

ceiving any Pay; and when our Soldiers had no Money to purchase Provisions for themselves, it became necessary to have them provided for by those upon whom they were quartered. It was, therefore, the publick Necessity, that made the A the Troops. Owners of Publick-houses submit to the furnishing the Soldiers with Diet and Small Beer, and not any Consciousness of their being obliged by Law to do fo; and for the fame Reason, the Parliament at that Time connived at the Interpre- B tation put upon the Mutiny Act by those that had been the Promoters of it: Nay, in the Year 1694, the Parliament agreed to a Clause, which feem'd to confirm this Interpretation; for it was then enact-Person should, during the Continuance of that Act, be oblig'd to provide Meat or other Victuals for any Soldiers, legally quartered on them, except in their March only, if they should give or tender to each Horseman 6d. per Diem, for his Subfift- D ence in Meat only, and to every Dragoon and Foot Soldier 4d. per Diem for the same, besides Candle and the Use of his Fire for dreffing his Meat;" and by another Clause in the same Act it was provided. "That Inn-holders and others should E clared himself to be doubtful. furnish, for every Soldier lawfully quartered upon them, Lodging, Small Beer, and Candle, with the Use of Fire to dress his Meat by, and Hay, and Straw for his Horses, at the Rate of 6d. per Diem, for Small Beer, Fire, Candle, and Hay and F Straw to a Light Horseman, and 5 d. per Diem to a Dragoon. But one may eafily fee, that these Claufes proceeded from the Necessities the Publick was that Year reduced to, by Reason of the clipp'd Money but the Year before, and by Reason of the vast Expence this Nation was at in supporting the War, which

laid them under a Necessity of paying 8 per Cent. for Money borrowed in that Year; and this obliged the Parliament to consent to this harsh and unequal Method of providing for the immediate Subfiftence of

I am, therefore, very well convinced, Sir, that it was never the Intention of the Majority in Parliament, to subject the Owners of Pablick-houses to the unequal and heavy Barden of being obliged to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat, or any other Rate, per Diem; and, I believe, no Lawyer will fay, that a Man can be fubjected to a Penalty, or Obligation, by Inference from any Words in a ed, " That no Inn holder or other C Law that can admit of another Interpretation. But whether or no the Majority of Parliament have been drawn in to do what they did not intend, as I am no Lawyer, I shall not pretend to determine. I must be, at least, doubtful in my Opinion; and I have a very good Authority for being fo; for in the Affair at Ledbury, a very great Lawyer, and one of the Judges upon the Affizes then holding there, I mean Judge Comyns, was asked his Opinion upon this very Question, and he de-

The Argument, Sir, which has been drawn from the Clause requiring Justices to settle the Price of Provisions, is of very little Force; for I do not think the Justices had from thence any Power to prescribe how much a Soldier should eat, or to order that his Landlord should furnish him with as much as he could eat for a Groat, or at any lesser Rate per Diem: They were only to appoint and ascertain the Prices of all necessary Provisions, having been called in to be recoined G fuch as Bread, Small Beer, Beef, Mutton, Butter, Cheefe, and the like, according to the Market-Rates, at that Time, and in that

Place ;

Place; and this Appointment of theirs, neither was, nor could be supposed to take Place, but in Cases where the Soldier and his Landlord could not agree between themselves. Their Interpofition was defigned only, and could be defigned for A nothing else than to prevent Difputes between Soldiers and the Perfons upon whom they were quartered. And, furely, it would have been a very lame Provision for paying, duly and justly, the Quarters ged an Inn-keeper to furnish every Soldier with as much as he could eat, and of what Sort of Provisions he pleased to insist on, without allowing him any more than a Groat a Day, even in the dearest Times, and for the best Sort of Provisions.

To tell us, Sir, that the Innkeeper will always meet with Redress from the commanding Officer, in case a Soldier insists upon too much, or too delicate Fare, because the Officer will thereby recommend thing very strange, because it may, in many Cases, be directly otherwife: A Regiment or two may be fent to correct an unruly County, City, or Borough: A private Hint may be given to the commandingOfing him there, and this Defign may be communicated to the Soldiers. Must we not, in this Case, suppose, that the Soldiers will make the most rigorous Use of every Right granted them by Law? Can we suppose, that the commanding Offi- F cer will be ready to hear or redress the Complaints of the Inhabitants? If he is, I am fure, we cannot suppose, he will thereby recommend himself to the Government. Such a Case as this, Sir, may cerrainly happen; and we are not to suppose, G that no such Case ever did happen, because no such Complaint has ever

been brought to Parliament. It is impossible, Sir, to prove the Fact upon which such a Complaint must be grounded. The true Cause of fending a Regiment to quarter upon a Borough, may be suspected: It may be almost certainly guessed at; but Ministers have so many Reasons or Pretences to alledge, for fending one or more Regiments to any Part of the Kingdom, that it is impossible to prove, they had no other Reason but that of the Borough's of the Army, if the Law had obli- B having fent two disagreeable Faces

But suppose, Sir, that no such Case could ever happen; and suppose that the Officers of the Army should always be ready to hear and redress every just Complaint against the Soldiers, or any Soldier, under their Command; tho' I have a very good Opinion of the Justice, Honour, and Impartiality of the prefent Officers of our Army, yet, I shall never agree to a Regulation that renders any Part of the People himself to the Government, is some- D liable to be oppressed by the Soldiers, without any Relief but from the commanding Officer. I do not think, that the Establishing of this Regulation can be presumed to have been the Intention of any Parliament of Great Britain, unless we, ficer, that this is the Defign of fend- E at the same Time, suppose, that the Majority of the Parliament confifted of Officers of the Army, which is not to be supposed of any British Parliament hitherto; tho' I do not know what may be the Case hereafter, if a Bill several Times proposed without Success, should never meet with a better Fate than it has done. If this, indeed, should happen, we may expect to see such a Clause as this approved of, and another Clause, which is the only one I can at present think of, that is wanting to make this Bill a compleat System of Slavery: I mean a Clause for subjecting Publick-

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houses to severe Penalties, if they do not furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them, with convenient Lodging and all necessary Provisions.

Such a Clause as this, I say, Sir, feems to be wanting; and if we agree to the Clause now offered, I A shall expect to see such a one as this offered in the very next Seffion of Parliament; for your obliging Innkeepers to receive Soldiers, and to furnish them with Diet and Small Beer, will not fignify much, unless you subject them to Penalties, or B impower the Soldiers to make Diftress and Sale of their Goods, if

they do not.

I mention this, Sir, to shew you what this superlative Care of the Army must, at last, drive you to; In a little Time you'll have no Inns, Ale-houses, or other Publick-houses in the Kingdom; at least, not near fufficient for quartering your Army; and then you must quarter your Soldiers upon private Houses, or build B rracks for them. The latter, I D confess, I should rather submit to. tho' I think the certain Consequence of it would, at last, be a military Government; because it would, in a short Time, render our Army a Sort of distinct People. Whilst our lick-houses up and down the Country, it preferves a Correspondence and an Intimacy between them and the People: They often contract Friendfhips together, which preserves in the Army a Regard for the People, selves as nothing more than fellow Sudjects; but, if they should once come to be lodged in Barracks, feparate and diffinct by themselves, they would foon begin to look upon themselves as sole Masters: They dence with, and lose all Regard for the People; and would be the fame,

in every Respect, with foreign Troops. They would confider nothing but their Pay and Preferment in the Army, and would be ready to obey the most illegal Orders that could be given them by their Commander in Chief; the Confequence of which would be, the Establishment of a military Government.

These, Sir, are Consequences that are most justly to be dreaded from your agreeing to what is now proposed; but, on the other Hand, what is the Confequence we are threatned with? I am really furprized to hear it mentioned in this House: It is said, if you do not agree to some such Clause as this, the Army will mutiny. What, Sir, will the Army mutiny, if you rebut what must be the Consequence? C fuse them a Liberty to oppress the People? When I hear this House threatned with such a Consequence, I must fay, it is high Time for us to think of reducing our Army, or of fending them where they ought to have been fent long ago, abroadto fight our Enemies, where they may gain both Honour and Wealth to themselves, and at the same Time vindicate the Honour of their Country. It is a common Failing of weak Minds, and sometimes of weak Ministers too, Sir, to avoid leffer Evils Soldiers are quartered in the Pub- E by running themselves into greater, and rather than expose themselves to a small immediate Danger, to run headlong into a Danger which is much greater, but a little more remote: I wish this may not lately have been our Case, with regard to and makes them look upon them- F foreign Affairs; I am fure it would be our Case with respect to domestick, if, for fear of a Mutiny in the Army, we should give them a legal Title to oppress the People, which would be the Confequence of our agreeing to the Clause proposed, would then break off all Correspon-G and therefore I must declare against

The next Speech I shall give you, was that made by Servilius Priscus, the Purport of which was as follows,

Mr. President, SIR.

Was heartily forry when I heard, that any Doubt or Dispute had arisen, about the Affair you have now under your Confideration. I forefaw, that the Discussion would be attended with great Inconveni- B encies, and that it would have been much better, if the Question had never been started. Whilst the Innkeeper thought he was obliged to furnish the Soldier with Diet and Small Beer, and the Soldier doubted if he was, it made both of them C live eafily with one another: The Inn-keeper provided for the Soldier the best he could afford for the Money, because he thought himself obliged to do so; and the Soldier often contented himself with the worse Fare, rather than be obliged Ding of the Law may be, it is very to take the Trouble of providing for himself. But now the Question is started, and especially as the Opinion begins generally to prevail, that no Inn-keeper, or other Person upon whom Soldiers may be lawfully quartered, is obliged to furnish E the Soldiers with any Sort of Provifions, I confess, I thought it would be absolutely necessary to put an End to the Dispute by some such Clause as my Hon. Friend has proposed. However, I must say, I now wish it had not been proposed, F or the Doubt so much as mentioned in this House, because the Clause feems to give feveral Gentlemen great Apprehensions; and if the Clause should be rejected, it will be interpreted by the whole Nation, as the Opinion of this House, that G the Time it has been interpreted in Inn-keepers and others are not obliged to furnish any Diet or Small Beer for the Soldiers quartered upon them.

I shall not take up your Time. Sir, with giving you my Reasons, why I think otherwise; for as I do not pretend to be learned in the Law, I cannot prefume, that my Opinion will have any Weight, or A that my Reasons will be satisfactory: And, indeed, I think it below the Dignity of this House to confider the Point in this Light, because, if the Law were wrong, it is our Business to rectify it; and if it should be Law, but is not, it is our Business to make it so. We are therefore to consider, whether it be in itself right or wrong, that Innkeepers, and others, upon whom Soldiers may be lawfully quartered, should be obliged to furnish the Soldiers so quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer, at a Groat a Day, or such lesser Rate as they shall agree on. In my Opinion, it is right it should be so, and I have one very strong Argument in my Favour, which is almost forty Years Whatever the Mean-Experience. certain, that ever fince the first Mutiny Act was passed, which is thirtynineYears ago, the Opinion has generally prevailed, that the Owners of Publick-houses were obliged to furnish the Soldiers quartered upon them, with Diet and Small Beer: This, I say, has been the general Opinion till very lately, and the Law, in this Sense, has been generally complied with. In all that Time, it has never produced any Inconveniencies, nor can the Owners of such Houses say they ever met with any Oppression or Exaction from the Soldiers quarter'd upon them, but what was redreffed by the Officers, as foon as they heard of it.

The Law therefore, Sir, during this Sense, has produced no bad Esfeet; but if it should be interpreted otherwise, as it will be, if you reject

ject this Clause, God knows, what ill Effects it may produce. No Innkeeper, or other Person, upon whom Soldiers may be lawfully quartered, will think himself obliged to furnish any Thing for the Soldiers, even confequently, no Inn-keeper will furnish any Thing, unless they agree to pay the Prices he pleases to The Justices may appoint demand. Prices, but what will that fignify, if no Man be obliged to furnish or fell to the Soldier at that Price. B The March of a Regiment, Troop, or Company will occasion a Market or Election-Day at every Country Town they pass thro': The Prices of all Manner of Provisions will rife to double what they are upon ordinary Occasions; and if the Soldiers C will not, or cannot, which will be truly the Case, pay those Prices, no Man will fell them any Thing. Sir, it is easy to see what this must produce: The Soldiers will not flarve in a Country where there is Plenty; it is unreasonable to expect they D should; and if they cannot pay the Prices demanded, they will take what they want at their own Price. perhaps without paying any Price, because the Crime will, in strict Law, be the fame: They will break open Doors to come at it, or E to fearch for it; and if fuch a Body of Men should once begin to think themselves criminal in the Eye of the Law, they will naturally and of course begin to think of destroying that Law, which would destroy pect, and in fuch a Case might, probably, meet with the Support of the whole Army.

These Effects, Sir, are certainly to be apprehended, because, I think, they are the natural Consegnences spect. I call it altering the Law, because, if it was not Law, it has at least been understood to be Law for

almost forty Years past. If this was really the implied, tho' not expressed Meaning of the Law, surely no great Inconvenience can arise from your making the Law more explicit: If this was not the imwhen they are upon a March; and A plied Meaning of the Law, I think, you ought now to make it the expressed Meaning of the Law, because the publick Safety requires it. Some Method must be taken to provide for the Soldiers: They must live, and they must live upon a Groat a Day; because they have no more to give. They must have necessary Provisions at the Prices they are able to pay for them, and they must have them at or about the Places where they are quartered, because, according to the Rules of Discipline in the Army, they cannot go elsewhere to seek for them. If you oblige the Owners of Publick-houses to furnish necessary Provisions for the Soldiers quartered upon them, at the Prices the Soldiers are able to pay, for at those Prices they must furnish or not at all, you only make them a Sort of Purveyors for the Army, which has never been thought a bad Imployment: They will generally have fome Days Notice of a Regiment, Troop, or Company's coming to be quartered upon them, and will take Care to provide some Days beforehand, when the Markets are cheap, or they will fend to the Market-Town in the Neighbourhood where they can buy cheapest. They will always have many Opportunities, them; especially, as they will ex- F and many Methods of providing for the Soldiers, at a cheaper Rate than they can provide for themselves; and fince they may fo eafily, and fo certainly, provide for the Soldiers quartered upon them, at fuch Prices as the Soldiers are able to pay, I of your altering the Law in this Re- G cannot think there would be any great Hardship in obliging them to

The Dangers from thence arising,

and which have been fet in fo terrible a Light by some Gentlemen in this Debate, are, in my Opinion, Sir, mere Bugbears, created by the Imagination only. It will very rarely happen, especially in Places at any Distance from London, that a A Soldier may not be plentifully furnished at the Rate of a Groat a Day; and if any Soldier should infift upon a greater Quantity of Victuals, or upon more delicate Fare, than can be furnished at that Price, Companions, but punished by his Officer; for hitherto in the Army, and, I hope, it will always be fo, there is nothing reckoned more difhonourable and despicable than for a Soldier to be troublesome and unjust Cause; from whence, I believe, it would be a very dangerous Project to fend Soldiers to quarter in a City or Borough, with a private Hint to be as oppressive as possible in their respective Quarters, in oron Account of an Election, Thank God! the Soldiers of our Army would as yet despise such Hints, and those that gave them: They would think themselves obliged in Honour to discover the Authors of fuch treasonable Practices against E the Preference. the Constitution of their Country; and therefore, upon a Complaint, it would be very easy for this House to find out and punish the Authors: Nay, as we are not tied down to the Rules of Evidence in Westminfler-Hall, we might very probably, p by proper fifting, come at the prime and original Author.

For these Reasons, Sir, I must think, that the Dangers pretended to arise from our obliging the Owners of Publick-houses to furnish Diet and Small Beer for the Soldiers G none at all of me: When I was quartered upon them, are all imaginary; but the Dangers arifing from our leaving the Soldiers of our

Army unprovided for, and often without a Possibility of providing for themselves, are far from being fo. These Dangers therefore must be guarded against: I should be glad to find some other Expedient for avoiding these Dangers; but if no other can be found, we must take what is now proposed. It is the Bufiness of every Gentleman here, when any Difficulty or Danger occurs, to think of, and contrive such Expedients as may be he will not only be despised by his B most effectual and most safe for his Country; and yet there are some Gentlemen in this House, who seem to behave in a very different Manner: They are always starting Objections against, and presaging Dangers from every Expedient they hear easy in his Quarters, without any C proposed, but never offer any Proposal, any Remedy or Prevention, of their own. As these Gentlemen feem to have a mighty fruitful Invention, I wish they would apply it to the Case now before us: I wish they would propose some other Exder to punish such City or Borough D pedient for preventing the Evil we are at present threatned with. If they do, I promise them, I shall give it a candid and impartial Examination; and if I think it more effectual or more fafe than what is now proposed, I shall certainly give it

> [This JOURNAL to be continued in our next.

> > Universal Spestator, Nº 690.

MISS-LED's Account of herfelf and Progeny. (See our Mag. for Dec. last, p. 604, 605 D.)

FORTUNE, who took little Care of any of her Daughters, took scarce Fourteen, I had contracted an intimate Acquaintance with two Sisters of infamous Characters, called Vice and Folly; these Baggages first artfully infinuated to me, that what my Mother might bestow on me was very precarious, therefore I should take Care of myself: Then they paid me great Compliments on my Wit and Beauty, which were A not, at my Age, to be concealed from the World, but to appear in it with full Lustre. These Things, with the Description of Balls, Assemblies, Theatres, Opera's, Masquerades, &c. &c. quite turn'd my Brain, and I betray'd an eager De- B fire for the Enjoyment of them, but shew'd a Fear that I should not attain it: Immediately both the Ladies said, I need have no Apprehenfion of that; for that there was a very fine, rich, young Gentleman with me, and would, on certain Conditions, let me live in all the Splendor of a Duchess. I objected to the Conditions; but they urged such Reafons, to prove that my Objections were not regarded in this Age, and introduced the Gentleman, whose D Person I lik'd so well, that I at last consented to live with him as a Mistress, and have had by him the Issue, which I shall describe. It may be necessary first to mention, that the Name of my Gallant was Error.

Our eldest Daughter was Miss-Begotten, a Girl of great Spirits and Vivacity; but had, at first, the Unhappiness to be reproach'd, because I and her Father had not comply'd with a particular Custom: However, in Process of Time she met F with civiler Treatment, and was received very kindly into the Palaces of Kings and Emperors; nay, it has been thro' her Influence, that Kings and Princes have had their Being; and were we even to trace our own Annals, we must confess her Power G has been great: But in no Reign was she better received at Court, than in the amorous Æra of Charles II.

What an Efficacy she had over that Prince's Heart, some Demi-Royal Coats of Arms, which we frequently fee on Chariot Doors, can sufficiently declare. She is now received among the Great and Noble, with a Regard equal to any body; it is only among Country Wenches, or an odd Sort of People called Virtuous, esteem'd a Shame to bring into Publick a Miss-Begotten.

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The next was her Father's Favourite, as she often occasion'd the most fatal Errors that could happen; Errors greater than ruining private Families; Errors which were the Overthrow of Empires, and the Destruction of Kingdoms: This political Lady was Miss-Advice. When the has any grand Scheme to exeat Court, who had fallen in Love C cute, she gets to be retain'd by a very evil or very blundering M-ft-r; in either Case she is introduced into the Cabinet, the Army, the Fleet, and executes her Defigns both at home and abroad. Should ill Treaties be made, they are all made by Mis-Advice; should Forces be sent abroad at a wrong Season, or not properly supported when fent, who is it owing to ?-Miss-Advice. Should formidable Fleets sail and re-sail to no Purpose, must not Mis-Advice be the Occasion of it? But I hope the has no Efficacy in the B---Councils, Fleets, or Armies; for if she has, there are a bold Set of Men, who will call my Daughter, and all her Party of Miss-Advisers, to a strict Account.

My third Daughter was rather theologically than politically inclined, and has occasioned as warm Controversies in Religion, as the other in the State: But what is very extraordinary, every Sect or Opinion, Orthodox or Heterodox, Jews, Turks, Infidels, and modern Atheifts, instead of espousing her to their Party, have disclaimed her to belong to them. The Disputes to which she belong'd, have occafioned

fioned bloody Wars, tyrannical Martyrdoms, and all the Evils which Ignorance, Superstition, and falle Zeal could have introduced: It will now become obvious, that I mean Mis-Belief .- To confess the Truth, yet is in great Reputation among our modern Wits; because in their Eyes the feems, like other fathionable Beauties, more agreeable from the black Spots which appear upon

Miss-Application has had her Share B in governing the Actions of human Kind; and many immense Sums have been loft, and many great Genius's spoiled, by her Pretence to direct them. - Can any Director of a publick Company, or Supra-Cargo faid of the Monies issued from the T---ry to carry fome E-ns, if Miss-Application was not to point to the S-k-g F-d?—Is she not Dullman, when he attempts to be a Wit? For the one would appear to more Advantage on a Mountebank Stage, and the other as a Country Grazier. But she sometimes descends from the high Scenes of Life, felect Vestries, Courts of Assistants, and Companies Feafts. - With Reverence be it spoken: I cannot but fay she has a strong Instuence in the Pulpit; fo ftrong a one, that when I hear the Words, Now to apply, I am in as much Pain, as Mr. Prior F has describ'd he was on the same Occasion; for, too often would it have been more Propriety to have faid, Now to miss apply.

The two only Twins I had were Miss-Count and Miss-Reckon; they could hardly be distinguished, the former only adapting herself to the Bufiness of the Men, as the last did

to that of the Women, Mis-Count committed her Rogueries defignedly, the other thro' Blunders : The first will often get unperceivedly at the Elbow of a Clerk of the Bank or any Pay-Office, to prompt him to the young Lady is of no Religion, A count short. It has been said, she prompted a Prime Minister, e'er now. to count the publick Money on a Gridiron; all that fell thro' being his own, but all that remain'd on the Bars was his Master's and the Nation's. As many Properties are ascrib'd to her, as to Mab the Fairy; the makes Fortune-Hunters dream they are to have such and such Ladies; Curates, fat Rectorships; Rectors, good Deaneries; and Deans, noble Bishopricks. Miss-Reckon occasions Trouble and Disappointment in the Female from the Indies, say, I do not know C Sex; sometimes she discovers the Miss-Application?—What could be Shame of a Maiden, who has not kept a just Account; at others, flatters them with the Expectation of a particular Sweetheart, who is on the Point of Marriage to another: This feen in H ___ when he is called, Reckoning Chickens before is a Pl ___ ry? or 'Squire D they are hatch'd. In one Thing she is very favourable to the Sex, and that is, in the Account which the gives of their Age.

Here must I mention an odd fantaftical Girl, but the Humour and Air of her you may every Day fee and actuates on fecret Committees, E in all the publick Places: It is Misi-Becoming, who, by some Oddity in her Dress and Gait, quite diffigures a tolerable Face, and distorts her Limbs and Shape into the most difagreeable Form. This, she fays, fhe does to be in the Mode; therefore sometimes she bobbles, sometimes firaddles; to day a perfect Frenchweman, to-morrow half French and half English, and perhaps the next a downright Slattern in a Bed-Gown. - I must confess, I have missled many of my Countrywomen to were so like each other, that they G follow her Airs, and from such Fantafficalness only, made them seem (my Daughter) Miss-Becoming.

My other Daughters, who are all

Miffes, tho' fomewhat ancient, are too well known to give a Description of; as, Mis-Truft, Mis-Time, Miss-Doubt, Miss-Deed, &c. &c. who have all fimilar Qualities to those already describ'd.

Craftsman, Dec. 26. Nº 808.

Of FLATTERY in Courts.

'HO' Praise is due to real Merit, and the natural Defire of Fame and Reputation is a commendable Quality, and one of the B strongest Incitements to virtuous Actions; yet the Love of gross Flattery, which confifts of groundless Praise, either in Print or Conversation, is a nauseous Vanity, and renders a Man ridiculous in the Eyes of all impartial People.

This finister Method of saying the Thing that is not, like downright Lying, is often very prejudicial in private Life: But when this mean Spirit of Sycophancy infests Courts, and poisons the Ears of Princes, it is a terrible Omen to the D tifb Throne. People, and commonly attended

with fatal Consequences.

Most Princes are train'd up from their Infancy in such high-flown Notions of their exalted Birth, and in a Manner secluded from the rest of the World, that it is an easy E Matter for a well-fed Parafite to make them look upon themselves. as another Species of Mortals, or rather, something more than Mor-

To what vile Purpole, of this made subservient, by wresting some Texts of Scripture, and construing others in a literal Sense, which they cannot bear without a manifest Abfurdity; particularly that, where Kings are faid to be Gods, which hath been spun out by mercenary G profes'd Enemies. Court-Preachers into numberless Volumes of the most impious and blafphemous Doctrines. - How often

have the weakest Princes been call'd the Light of our Eyes, and the Breath of our Nostrils, with other such-like Appellations, peculiar only to the Almighty, and great Creator of the Universe?

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Was not K. James I. most fulsomly bellabber'd with the Name of Solomon the Second, and as wickedly flatter'd, in the Sham-Conference at Hampton-Court, by Archbishop Whitgift, who declared, that his Majesty must certainly speak by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghoft?—It was this wife Prince, I think, to whose Title the awful Epithet of Sacred was first added to Majesty, and hath continued ever fince.

I shall just mention one Objection, which the Dissenters have often made against our Liturgy, that the Title of most religious and gracious King, in the Form of Prayer during the Sitting of Parliament, was first given to one of the loosest Princes, both in Point of Religion and Morals, that ever fat upon the Bri-

From hence originally proceeded all those monstrous Doctrines of absolute passive Obedience, Non-Resistance, unalienable bereditary Right, and unlimited Prerogative; which occasioned a long and bloody Civil War, overturn'd our Government, both in Church and State, for a Time, and ended in the Ruin of all the elder Branches of the Stuart Family.

In short, Flattery hath been the Bane of all or most of those Princes. who were weak enough to liften to Nature, hath the Pulpit itself been F the Voice of this artful Syren, and fuck'd up her delufive Incantations. -If we examine the History of all Ages and Countries, we shall find more crown'd Heads brought to Ruin by fawning, wheedling Sycophants, than by all their open and

In the arbitrary Governments of the East, it is customary for the Emperors to be the Trumpeters of

their own Praise, by the pompous Stile and Titles which they assume to themselves: And tho' our European Monarchs, both absolute and limited, have not yet equal'd the Sublimity of the Oriental Stile; Advances towards it, within a few Centuries past; and in as many Centuries more will, in all Probability, not come much behind them in their Speeches, Declarations, Memorials, Manifestoes, Treaties, &c.

No good Englishman can repine at B the glorious Titles, which our Monarchs have acquir'd fince the Time of Henry IV. to whom the Title of Grace is faid to have been first given; to Henry VI. that of excellent Grace; to Edward IV. high and mighty Prince; to Henry VII. some- C structive Use of Power. times Grace and fometimes Highness; to Henry VIII. first Highness, then Majesty; and now sacred Majefly, or most excellent Majesty. -- Mr. Selden, indeed, will not allow King Henry VIII. to be the first English Majesty, and produces some Instances from our ancient Records to the contrary; but still I think it appears plainly enough, that the lofty Term of Majefly did not become the ordinary current Title of our Time before-mention'd.

All I mean by this Remark, is to shew, that our British Kings being posses'd of such high and illustrious Titles, by the very Tenure of their Crown, it is beneath their elevated Character to encourage any little F ineaking Adulation in personal Audiences, Sermons, Dedications, or publick Addresses of any Sort; which, instead of increasing, diminishes the Lustre of their supreme Dignity.

But the most pernicious Flattery of all is, when a Minister by indirect G Calves, an impotent Husband of his Means gains such an Ascendant over his Master, as to make him the Pipe of Conveyance of his own Praise;

and fuch a commanding Influence in popular Assemblies, as to prevail upon them to echo back the fame blind Approbation of his ruinous Measures to the Throne.—We have many fuch Inflances in our own Hifthey have made some considerable A tory; but the same History surnishes us likewise with Examples, when these abominable Practices are fo notorious, as to make a whole Nation ring with Complaints and Exclamations: And when a free and uncorrupted Parliament makes a strict and impartial Inquiry into them, and a wife and good Prince fits on the Throne, we may fafely conclude, that the Domination of fuch a Minister is near to an End; and dreadful must be his Fall, in Proportion to his infolent and de-

Common Sense, Dec. 26. Nº 254.

A PANEGYRICK upon DULNESS.

F the Value of a Patron arises from the Number of his Clients Prince, who assum'd the Title of D and Admirers, the grave Personage, whose Praises I intend to celebrate. may deservedly claim our deepest Regard at this Time. On the Sea and the Land, in the College, the Palace, and in the City, there are not wanting fincere Votaries of Dul-English Monarchs, till about the Eness. The Inhabitants of this Island happily become fensible of the Power of this gentle Goddess, and begin daily to despise her inveterate

Adversary, Wit.

What Man that abounds in Sense and Penetration, has in our Memory made his Fortune? How grating must it be for a Minister to hear of his Bribery, his Tricking, his broken and deceitful Promises; or a Bishop, of his Avarice, Pride, and

Immoralities.

Tell a Debauchee of his false budding Forehead, a Glutton of the Venison he has devoured, or an Ufurer of the Families he has ruined,

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they will all hate you more violently, than a red-hair'd Woman does her Picture exactly drawn. Foolish and the Vicious are as afraid of a Wit as of a Dun, and avoid him as a Fly does a Spider's Web, and would fooner have a Harpy at A will impose on the Senses. their Tables, than a Son of Phæbus.

Inconsiderate Cynthio, who hinted to the haughty Pampilius, that his Taylors and Confectioners Bills were unpaid, that his Lordship's Apprehenfion was fomething Bestian, and contradicted him when he swore B that Blackmore was a better Poet than Pope, loft all Pretentions to his Patron's Emiles, faw the Deanery promised him given to another, and for some innocent Gaieties is now starving in a Prison.

The Paths to Preferment (Thanks C to dear Dulness) are not so steep or fo thorny, as formerly. Silence (that grave Pythagonean Virtue,) the Cringe, the Smile, and the fulfome Compliment, are now the only Qualifications necessary for rising to Pre-The World is so wise as to forget Industry, Parts, Ability, and Ho-

nesty.

That famous Traveller, Tavernier, relates, that there is no Subject of the Great Mogul, but what is often trining an useful Direction for Behaviour at a Court. The Proverb is, That if a King faith at Noon-Day, it is Night, you must immediately cry out, Behold the Moon and the Stars. Contradiction to a Superior betrays the hardiest Impu- F rather than with Laurels? dence and Want of Attention to a Man's own private Interest; and who is so floical as to prefer Truth before Flattery, when the one introduces Men into the Presence-Chamber, the other confines them to the thatch'd Cottage.

Above all, let the Man that hopes to be distinguish'd by the Favours of the Great, tear from his Heart all

foolish Notions of the Phantom Honour, and let him talk againft, let him banish all Liberty; - a Concern for which is diametrically opposite to the defirable Tranquillity which Duiness, a most generous Patroness,

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We have indeed been told of a Solon, a Leonidas, a Curtius, a Regulus, and other ancient Worthies; as People that felt warmly for the Publick, and who loft their Lives and Fortunes for its Sake. Such Enthusiasts in Point of Virtue, deserve rather a Place in Bedlam, than Elyfium, and show they little attended to the Dictates of human Nature, which whispers every Man principally to regard his dear Self, and

the Sake of the noblest Community upon Earth.

It is altogether unnecessary to recommend Dulness any farther to my Countrymen, fince, without any Application made to them, a great ferment and making a Fortune. - D Number of substantial thriving Perfons in the Professions of Law, Phyfick and Divinity, are beholden to her kind Influence, and owe con-

not to injure or hazard either his

dear Person or his dear Fortune, for

fiderable Fortunes to it.

What military Man inures himfelf to Toils and Hardships, in orreciting a favourite Proverb, as con- E der to make the Dangers and Difficulties of a Campaign familiar and easy to him, with Expectation to but affects the Frenchman more than the Spartan, and chuses not to have his Head covered with a Bag-Wig,

> How many dignified, fat Priests would rather flatter than preach, and envy the fnoring Audience, whom their lethargick Discouries

have fet fast asleep?

Among the fair Sex, how has G Fashion universally persuaded them to think the Out-fide of their Bodies deserves their principal Attention, and commanded them more to ad-

mire the Character of Helen, than

of Sappho?

The Pleader at the Bar, having experienced that Eloquence and Honefly will not fill his Pockets, and enable him to loll in a gilt Chariot, advantagious and easy Arts of Lying and Court-ferving.

The 'Squire in the Country, contented with his Beef, his October, and his Hounds, rides away Life, and is utterly regardless whether

decay.

In fine, Men begin to be convinced that Indolence and Unthinkingness, are the greatest Blessings upon Earth; that Knowledge is a vain Acquisition, a Bubble that swells and breaks, a Rainbow that glows C a Point, which deferves the firictest and fades away; and that Tully's Son was in reality happier than our violent Enemy, his Conful Father.

As the Sicilians built a Temple to Gluttony, to we hope that the prefent excellent M --- will shortly erect one to her Daughter Dulness; D and that Gathicifm being re-esta-blished, a Huntsman will be preferred to an Historian, a Butcher to a Poet, and a French Cook to a Philosopher. withcut any Rugant to

A Political DISCOURSE upon the Commencement of the NEW YEAR.

AM forry to begin with obus but a melancholy Prospect, with regard to foreign Affairs. No good F Englishman, or true Patriot of any Nation, whose Interest and Safety depend upon the Preservation of the Balance of Power in Europe, can look without the deepest Concern upon the complicated Diftresses, of whole House of Austria. The rapid Progress and Success of the Prussian Arms, the sudden Revolution in Russia, the impending Dangers of

other States, and above all the exorbitant Power of the House of Bourbon, from whose Intrigues it now appears that all these publick Calamities of Europe took their Rife, are melancholy Confiderations. quickly turns himself to the more A Who can any longer doubt of the true Motive of the fudden and unprecedented March of the French Troops, as it is justly call'd, into the Heart of Germany, of the Conjunction of the French and Spanish Fleets in the Mediterranean; or of Virtue or Learning may flourish or B the Swedish War against Muscowy, &c? But what Person, or Persons, by their Tameness, Inactivity, or Treachery, are properly answerable for giving the French Court fuch an Opportunity of playing their old Game, and dictating Laws to all Europe, is Inquifition .- We have, indeed, been lately commanded by Authority to humble ourselves before God in Fasting and Prayer for our manifold Sins and Transgressions, which have drawn down this heavy Judgment upon us. But let it be remember'd, that God commonly acts by secondary Means, and fometimes punishes a whole Nation, or Community, for the Sins of a few, or even of a fingle Person. - This was, in some Measure, the Case of Jonah, who Crafisman, Jan. 2. No 809. E for disobeying the Command of the Lord, and endeavouring to flee from his Presence by Sea, God work'd up a mighty Tempest, which had like to have dash'd the Ship to Pieces, and put the Mariners under terrible Apprehensions; upon which, concluding that this Evil must be brought upon them for the Sins of some body on board, they agreed amongst themselves to cast Lots, and finding it to be Jonah, they threw him into the Sea, as Jonah himself commanded them, and the her Hungarian Majesty and the G Tempest immediately ceased .- The only Comment I shall make upon this Passage is, that the Ship's Crew appear to have been innocent,

and fuffer'd only for the Sins of one Man.—Our British Jonah, who hath fo long troubled the Vessel of the State, is well enough known, without casting Lots, and ought to make the fanie voluntary Sacrifice of himfelf, for the Preservation of his A Country, which he hath brought into the most imminent Danger. Upon this Condition, I heartily wish him the fame miraculous Deliverance with his Fervillo Predecessor.

But that I may not be charged with delighting to dwell upon the B dark Side of the present New Year, let us turn our Eyes a little to what may be call'd the bright Side of it; and as our only Hopes of Safety and Prosperity depend, next to God and the King, upon a free, uncorrupt and independent Parliament, I have C the Pleasure to wish my Countrymen Joy upon that Account; for our new-elected Representatives have open'd their first Session with a Spirit and Vigour worthy of a British Parliament, and given us an Earnest of much better Things from their D Hands. Their chufing a Gentleman of the most unquestion'd Judgment and Integrity, to fill the Chair of the Committee of Elections, upon whose Decision the Right of fo of their Regard to Justice and Equity.

As nothing strikes more immediately at the very Root of all Freedom of Elections, and Independency of Parliament, than Bribery, Corruption, open Violence, and false F Returns, it must give every true Friend to Liberty the utmost Pleafure to reflect on the Zeal, which our Representatives have already exerted against such pernicious Practices, and their Resolution to make a farther Inquiry into the Conduct of the Au-G thors and Agents, in this dirty Work. - We have therefore good Reason to expect and believe, that

no Tools of Power will be bold enough, for the future, to hire arm'd Ruffians, in order to make Riots, and intimidate the Electors. or to close any Poll in an abrupt and arbitrary Manner, or to fend for a military Force to protect them in their illegal Proceedings. - Thefe .. Men, I fay, have received one remarkable Check in the full Career of their Wickedness; and there being many Cases of much the same Nature already laid before Parliament, it is not to be doubted that they will be examined in the fame impartial Manner; and if any Perfons, whether Electors or Magistrates, should be proved guilty of the like Offences, we may rest in full Confidence that the most exemplary Punishment will be inflicted on

A false Return is felling the People by wholefale, and endeavouring to defeat the End of all Elections; for if any Man should be induced by private Friendship, Consanguinity, Affinity, Party Motives, Dependency, Corruption, or any other felfish Considerations, to prostitute the high Trust reposed in him, by returning what Persons he pleases, without any Regard to the Nummany controverted Seats in a great ber or requisite Qualification of the Measure depends, is an early Proof E Electors; the Persons so return'd are properly the Representatives only of a wicked Magistrate, and not of the County, City, or Borough, which are thus deprived of their true Choice.—It was to prevent, reform, and punish such Abuses of Men in Office, that the Committee of Elections was first instituted, which in free Parliaments hath often been of fignal Benefit to the Nation.

The present Parliament have likewife given us very promiting Hopes of procuring some farther Advantages to the Publick, by calling for the Instructions, Letters, and other Papers, which have pass'd between the Administration at home, and

our Admirals, Commanders, and Ministers abroad .- This seems to imply a firm Resolution to make a strict Scrutiny into the Conduct of Affairs, both foreign and domestick; particularly how the vast Sums of Money, already given and appro- A priated to national Uses, have been apply'd; how our numerous Fleets and Armies have been employ'd against the common Enemy, in Vindication of our Honour, Interest, and undoubted Right to a free Trade and Navigation in all Parts of the B World, not specifically excepted by Treaties; lastly, whether any Body is culpable or not, for Maladministration and Mifmanagement in any Branch of Government.

Upon the Whole, I may venture to conclude with the usual Compli- C ment of the Seafon, by wishing my Readers and Countrymen Joy, upon the present New Year; for if our Circumstances at home should be visibly found upon the mending Hand, it might possibly give a Turn to Assairs abroad, however gloomy D and difmal the Prospect may at pre-

fent appear.

Common Senfe, Jan. 2. Nº 255.

04 H 2 4 RES 201 25 W.

Everal grave and learned Writers have communicated their Dreams to the World, as Matters worthy of E most serious Consideration.

If my Memory does not deceive me, it is Montaigne who tells us, that he had made whole Comedies full of Plot and Intrigue, and composed several Copies of Verses, in his Sleep; which he thought to be F much superior to any he had ever composed when he was awake.

I think Montaigne was not only a Man of as much Wit as any of his own Age, but as any that hath lived fince; and yet he tells us, that

his Sleep.

To tell the Truth, when I first undertook this Work, I propoled

now and then to fall afleep myfelf for the Good of my Country; and I may without Vanity fay, that I dream'd once or twice with tolerable good Success, and to the no fmall Satisfaction and Entertainment of my courteous Readers; but of late I have receiv'd feveral friendly Admonitions, informing me that this is not a Time for Sleep; and particularly some Months ago, a short Note came to my Hands, subscribed by no Name, containing only the two Expressions following : - Sleep no more, -the Corruptor bath murder'd Sleep .- Upon which I roused myfelf, and have ever fince been doing my poor Endeavours to rouse the whole Nation, which about that Time feem'd to be feiz'd with a Kind of fleeping or lethargick Fit. which, in the Opinion of the Learned, would have carried it off, if it had lasted two or three Months longer. A a mo break

But altho' I have left off fleeping myself, some of my Correspondents are fo kind to fleep for me; as the Reader will perceive by what follows. The Tax and the larger to

DOMEST BOOK I To the Author of Common Sense.

Ther steet with

SIR

Happened last Night to be pre-fent at a Club, where our Conversation chiefly turn'd upon the Follies of Mankind: And we at last concluded.

Nemo fine vitiis nascitur, Optimus ille, qui minimis urgetur.

This Conversation made so strong an Impression on me, that when I went to Bed, I fell into a strange Kind of Dream.

Methought I faw all Mankind as they came into the World, obliged to clamber up a steep Mountain, he would always chuse to study in G all cover'd with craggy Rocks and Thorns, at the Top of which they arrived fooner or later, according as Nature had given them Strength.

At their first attempting the Afcent, I perceived a fair Nymph, cloathed with a white shining Garment, start from a Thicket, and attended close behind every Person as they went up. I could observe her frequently whispering to them, and A to hide the most beautiful Hair on my nearer Approach plainly diflinguish'd what she said.

The first I heard her speak to, was a Lady who had the finest Features that Nature could form, but wanted a Complexion: The Nymph told her, Paint would remedy that B

Another who had a Deformity in her Hip and Shoulder, came limping on with the utmost Concern; and her Companion the Nymph recommended to her, Stays properly

padded and a Hoop.

A Lady that had been married to a debauched Rake, after finding her Arguments could not prevail to reclaim him, found out a Remedy, or at least a Revenge, by the Ashiftance of her kind Adviser; who recommended her acting the fame D Part, and then she said they would be on equal Terms, for one bad Turn, as well as one good Turn, deserves another.

The deep Sighs of one that was near me drew my Attention to her. and I found she was bemoaning her E hard Pate that obliged her to drudge on a melancholy Life with a fenseless Husband, who could not relish the Pleasures of the Town, and the Follies of a gay World. She had hardly uttered these Words, when her Attendant told her, a separate F Maintenance would fet her at Liberty, would make her her own Mistress, and was frequently practifed.

I observed an old Lady crawling up the Hill on all Fours, and notwithstanding the Fatigue of the G freep Ascent, endeavour'd with great Care to cover her white Locks with Pieces of Rags, which I heard

the Nymph call a Cap; and told her, Diamonds and Gold would cut off threescore Years of her Age.

I was surpriz'd to find all the young Women that follow'd her, endeavouring in the fame Manner

that Nature could produce.

A fine Gentleman that had most of those Qualities which render a Man agreeable, wanted a Fortune; which his fair Companion observing, told him, there was but one Remedy left, which was to lay Conscience aside, and all would go well: Upon those Conditions, there never was a better Time to thrive.

I saw a young Man heavily loaded with a Bag of Money, and he complain'd of its great Weight. The Nymph, who never was wanting in her Advice, told him, Money was made for the Use and Pleafure of Mortals, and when it was gone, his Burden would be light

enough.

Another was loaded in the fame Manner, but had been liberally distributing it for forty Years, until the Nymph thought that forty Years was too long a Time for any one on the Mountain to continue in the fame Course, and whisper'd him that Riches have Wings and will certainly fly away; he immediately thut the Bag, and faid, I'll clip them

close and make them stay.

I for a long Time observed a Man picking every Man's Pocket as he came by them, until he had accumulated great Wealth; he would not follow the common Road, but struck into a narrow Way on the left Hand, all over-grown with Briars and Thorns, few having pass'd that Way for many Years: He came to a steep Rock, call'd absolute Monarchy, which he endeavour'd with infinite Labour to climb up; it was rough and had many sharp Points, and there was a strong Guard fet round to watch it; all who had of late attempted to ascend this Rock, were generally deltroy'd : So after grasping at every Thing he could lay his Hands on to help him up, and finding his Attempt was like to prove vain, he address'd himself to the Nymph, who had first advis'd A him to turn on that Road, and defired to know of her how he might best succeed in his Attempt; she cold him, that he had fufficient Righes to bribe all the Guards; that if he divided his Money with a liberal Hand amongst them, they B domestick Prince, there must be addwould allow him to mount on their Shoulders; and that there was no other Way. He follow'd her Advice, and when he was almost at the Top, the Weight of his corpulent Body was too heavy, and fo they let him tumble down, and he C broke his Neck.

On the Top of the Hill there was plac'd a Looking-Glass, which discover'd the Nymph behind to be the Goddess of Folly, who immediately disappear'd.

following Inscription:

The world with fools is over-run, If you're alone, these fools you'll shun; But if you would not see one ass, You then must break this looking-glass.

I had no fooner read thefe Lines, but I took the Glass into my Hand with a Defign to break it; the imagin'd Noise wak'd me, and to my great Disappointment and Surprize I found it only a Dream.

Craftsman, Jan. 9. Nº 810.

The Inconveniencies objected to FREE GOVERNMENTS, answer'd.

Mr. D'Anvers,

T is a Point agreed to, I think, on all Sides, that different Kinds of Government have their particu-G Prodigality. lar Conveniencies, and are likewise attended with their respective Inconveniencies.

The Convenience of absolute Government is Unanimity, Secrecy, and Dispatch; but then the Reins of Government must be supposed always to be lodged in the Hands of a Person endowed with Fortitude. Wisdom, and Activity. But if he should be vitiated with Ambition, Cruelty, or Avarice, he may make as bad a Sovereign, notwithstanding his eminent Endowments. as any Hero of Antiquity.

In order therefore to make a good ed fome other personal Virtues, such as Oeconomy, Benevolence, and Integrity; but having with great Care, compared, from the original Histories, the Characters of the Princes. whose Names are inserted in Tallent's Chronological Tables, I find the Odds, to be full 999 in 1000, against any Prince, at the Time of his Nativity, being endowed with the Requifites above-mention'd; and if he chances to be born with any one, or more of them, there is the Over this Glass was written the D same Odds that his native good Qualities will be so metamorphosed by his Ministers, that by the Time he comes to govern, they will be made invisible to his People.

> For these Reasons, with great Submission I speak it to those Perfons, who are fond of absolute Government, that I differ in Opinion; for the Government I should chuse to live under, instead of having a Chance for those exquisite Advantages, which may be found in an absolute executive Part, should be such as should best obviate the Inconveniencies which the executive Part might introduce, and where the Conveniencies of the Government, fuch as they should be, would be less liable to Caprice or Ambition, Fear or Treachery, Covetoufness or

Some eminent Politicians have often told us, that Faction is a Concomitant of Freedom; from whence

will arise this Question - What is Faction? Ministers, no Doubt, and all their venal Tribe, will call fuch People factious, who oppose their Proceedings; therefore allowing them to be Judges, People, who regard their Liberty, will often be factious. A But I must here observe, that Freedom seldom makes a People factious. It is generally an Invasion of Freedom, or the Danger of lofing it, that makes them fo; and whoever will look into the History of England, will find that the People B have been most factious, when they have been least free, for this plain and natural Reason, that People will always make more Noise when they lose, than when they gain.

Another Inconvenience generally ascribed to free States, is Want of C Secrecy; but I think very unjustly. - As I am an Englishman, I am mostly concern'd for the Defence of my native Soil, and Examples of present Times are certainly much more illustrative than to have Recourse to Antiquity. - For the D Truth of what I am going to fay, I shall appeal to the Reader's Knowledge; whether the ministerial Proceedings in Points of most Consequence for these 20 Years past, have not been kept fo fecret, that both at home and abroad, in Peace and in E the Sailor's Bill? War, People have never been able to guess at what was doing, till it was done; and when Things have been done, whether People have not been as much at a Loss to guess why they were done, as before, they were ignorant what was doing?

Could the Ministry of France carry on their Affairs with more profound Secrecy? I am fure, at least, they have not .- For upwards of fifty Years ago, it was notorious, that they drove at universal Monarchy, liam, who counter-schemed them. It must be own'd, indeed, that his Scheme, the Support of the House of Austria; was very obvious too, which perhaps is the Reason that it has not been better carry'd on.

Want of Unanimity is another darling Objection to a free State. This, to be fure, would be a very weighty one, if it was true; for a Nation without Unanimity, cannot be able to defend itself against foreign or domestick Foes, against publick Invalions, or private Treachery. Here again, it may be necessary to confider, what may properly be call'd Unanimity. - I suppose it can't be expected to have every Individual in a Nation fay Aye! - What I conceive may be call'd Unanimity, is, when a Majority is able to carry a Train of Resolutions, without Lett. or Melestation.

If this is a right Definition of Unanimety, there certainly could not have been, in the most despotick Governments, greater Unanimity than has been in England for 20 Years past. - Indeed, there has been a firong Opposition to many publick Proceedings .- But what Hurt did it do the Minister?—Or, which is a more melancholy Reflection, What Good did it do the Nation?

Has the Opposition had Force enough to prevent or alter any one Measure, but the Excise-Scheme, and

Was not the Minister himself Judge of the Expences for the current Service? And has not all been comply'd with, that he proposed?

We are peculiarly happy in England by our Constitution; for we F have all the Advantages of monarchical Government for the executive Part, and the People have not only an undoubted Right, but a full Power likewise by their Representatives to be watchful over the Actions of the Ministers, that they don't which was well known to K. Wil- Gexceed the Interests of the People. -This is our Conflitution .- So that while our Representatives are faithful, the People are fafe; and this Power

Power of l'nquiry, is much more properly lodged, to answer the Intent of Government, with the People, than with the Prince, because our Judgment is much easier impofed on than our Senfes .- A Prince reprefentations of his Ministers, of the Circumstances of the People, and it may be the Interest of a Minifter to mifrepresent Facts, to screen himself, and his subordinate Tools; but this is a Point, in which the People can't be mistaken.—Hunger B and Cold are Counfellors that won't lye, but never go to Court.

A British Parliament, that difcharges the Trust repos'd in them, won't take the Word of a Minister for his own Integrity, as a Prince may do; nor will a Minister have C the Impudence to alk it .- Si negare

Jufficiat, quis erit nocens?

This Subject brings to my Mind the Speech, which the Man made to Don Carles of Spain, when he came to strangle him .- Cailla, cailla, Senor Don Carlos, todo lo que se D baze es pur su bien; which, in plain English, is, Senior Don Carlos, be quiet, all this is for your Good.—The Reader will observe that in Spain, Poisoning and Strangling were as much the avow'd Measures of Ministers, as Corruption has been so in E other Countries.

Perhaps it may be objected to me, that I have, in some Places, been too light for the Importance of the Subject; to make amends for which, I will be more ferious in the

Conclusion.

No body can have a greater Detestation of Faction, properly so call'd, than I have; but God forbid that the Lamentations and Apprehensions of a distress'd People should be ever thought so by a British Parliament !—And as I am an Enemy G Country more. to Faction, I am a Friend to Unanimity; but I would wish that Unamimity placed upon a just Subject;

for to be unanimous upon improper Objects, is but going so much fafter out of the Way, and must end more fatally, than to have divided Councils.

There is one Point, I believe, all may eafily be deceived, by the Mif- A are agreed on; which is, that our political Situation carries but a melancholy Afpect. How, indeed, we came into fuch Circumstances, is a Question which, I believe, will not be fo readily answer'd by the ministerial Tribe; the I hope they will be foon obliged to give an Anfwer, and a strict one too. Never was an Inquiry so much expected, nor were there ever stronger Prefumptions to excite an unanimous Attention in those Places, where only Relief can be obtain'd.

Common Senfe, Jan. 9. Nº 256.

BRITAIN's HOPE in the present Conjuncture.

HE most reviving Prospect with which this Nation hath been flatter'd for many Years past, is, what made its Appearance on

the first of December.

To fee fo many Gentlemen of the best Families and largest Fortunes in the Kingdom meet in a Place where, according to the a-vow'd Scheme of our Corruptor, Persons of their Character were to be excluded for ever, in order to make Way for Brokers and Placemen (which in plainer English, is as much as to fay, Brokers and Brokers) is an Event that hath dispers'd F Gladness all over the Nation.

Methinks it looks like the first Sight of Land to a Crew of halfstarv'd Mariners, after a long Voyage, who having been thrown out of their Course by Tempests, defpair'd of ever feeing their native

There cannot be a greater Pleafure to a good Mind, than to be able to relieve the Distress'd; this is a Pleafure Pleasure which the Gentlemen of whom we are speaking now enjoy. -Such a formidable Body, with the whole Nation on their Side, may not only prevent infinite Mifchiefs, but redress Grievances alconceal his Apprehensions that it will be fo; his Countenance betrays his Fears; -his very Insolence begins to forfake him :- We fee fuch an Alteration in the Looks of all his Tools, that we thought could Complexion;—they begin to look civil, and give me Leave to obferve, that to look civil is a most melancholy Symptom on their Side.

We hear indeed, that the Corruptor still depends on the Negligence on the other Side, as his An- C chor of Hope: - We think he will be deceiv'd :- We have already obferv'd, that the old Excuse which Gentlemen formerly gave for being absent, that they could do no Good if they were present, is now no may do what Good they please.

Confider what a Pleasure they ought to take in attending, who have the kind Wishes of all Mankind for their Success, and who are

Applause.

There is no Instance in History, of any Subject having usurp'd such an exorbitant Power as we have feen engross'd by one Man; yet in the Midst of this over-grown Power he hath been gradually losing Ground F for feven or eight Years; it is near that Time fince the Tide hath been turning against him, nor is it possible in the Nature of human Affairs, that he should ever be able to stem a Current, that must increase in Genius of the Nation is visibly prevailing, and Providence will not fuffer it to be ruin'd by fuch mean and bungling Hands.

The Freeholders and other middling People have done their Part towards mending publick Affairs, by electing Persons of the best Characters to represent them; the Bufiness is now in the Hands of the Trufready felt :- The Corruptor cannot A tees, there can be no Reason to doubt but they will answer the Expectations of those who fent them.

All the low Tricks and filly Expedients usually practifed in a bad Cause, have been tried by this Man over and over to recover his loft never happen to Persons of their B Ground, but to no Purpose :- He hath brib'd, and he hath menac'd; nay, he hath menac'd the whole Nation, but what then? The Sea when it is made angry by a Tempest, foams and swells like this Man, it threatens to overwhelm the whole Earth, yet is its Fury stopp'd by a little Bank of Sand; but it must be observ'd, that the Bank of Sand never quits its Post, it never stirs from that Spot affign'd it by Providence for guarding the Land, and checking the Fury of the Waters; theremore; it is demonstrable, that with D fore the Sea cannot prevail: On Unanimity and Attendance they the contrary, in the Height of its Rage, its proud Waves are forc'd back within their proper Bounds .-By this we are taught what Perleverance and Attendance will do, and it is a just Emblem of a steady and fure to meet with Approbation and E wife Opposition.

Crafifman, Jan. 16. Nº 811.

Of the Authority of SHERIFFS, and the Importance of putting proper Perfons into that high Office.

THE High Sheriff of a County is an Officer of great Antiquity, Dignity, and Authority, both Judicial and Ministerial, in the respective County, over which he prefides. In former Times, he was chosen in the County-Court by the Suffrages Strength the longer it runs; the Gof the People, like Justices or Confervators of the Peace, as Members of Parliament now are; so that even then he was a Royal Officer, or Vice-

Roy, tho chofen by the People. But, in Process of Time, some Inconveniencies being found, or pretended to be found, in this Method of Election, it was given by Statute to by Letters Patent, and having, befides his Patent of Office, a Writ directed to all Bishops, Lords, Knights, Freemen, and others, to be watchful and affiftant to him in all Things appertaining to his Office and the B Discharge of his Duty. He likewife takes Place of every Nobleman in the County, of what Rank or Degree foever, during the Time of his Shrievalty.—It is his Office and Duty to proclaim Statutes, and make Returns of the Writs for elect- C ing Members of Parliament, viz. Knights of the Shire, Citizens and Burgesses; as also to preserve the Rights of the King; collect his Rents; seize the Profits of Lands forfeited, and the Goods of Felons; merciaments, and be accountable to the King for the Issues and Profits of his County; for which he is obliged to give his Account in the Exchequer. He is to take Care that Criminals are executed, and to obthem to Death. Laftly, to give no more Instances, among a thousand others, of his great Power, Dignity, and Authority, an High Sheriff must have sufficient Lands, to answer the King and his People. So that, in every Respect, he may be properly F denominated the King's Representative, or the next Person under the King, in his respective County, during the Time of his Shrievalty.

The Authority of the Sheriff being so very great, and almost absothe greatest Care ought to be taken that it should never be confer'd upon an indigent or mean Perfon; and

whofoever deceives his Prince, and abuses his Country in this Respect, is certainly guilty of the highest Crime and Misdemeanor.

The principal Motives of a wickthe King. He therefore still conti-nues a Royal Officer, and of the A Office, are one of these; either to highest Distinction; being created return Pack'd Juries, when they are determined to support a forged or fuspected Plot, and to destroy or harrass some of their Enemies by illegal Convictions; or to procure a Pack'd Parliament by arbitrary and illegal Returns, which is much more frequently the Inducement to this criminal Abuse of Power, as Elections return periodically, tho' not fo often as might be wish'd; and as an House of Commons fastly attach'd to the Interests of a Minister is fo absolutely necessary to the Preservation of his Power, upon which only the Safety of his own dear Person depends.

But if it should ever happen, in Times to come, that a very low Fellow, even to low as a menial Serto levy the King's Debts, Fines, A- Dwant, should be thrust into this Royal Office, especially for a County of the first Rank, as to Wealth and Taxes, it certainly deserves the strictest Inquiry, by whose Recommendation, or Influence, fuch an high Dignity was degraded; and if the Person ferve the Order of Law in putting E guilty of fo flagitious a Fact should appear to be a Demi-Sovereign Minifler, he ought to be punish'd in the most exemplary Manner; because fuch a County as I am here suppofing, can never want a sufficient Number of wealthy, able, and reputable Gentlemen to represent the King, and do Honour to his County.

But the fame Arguments will hold equally good as to any other inferior Counties, with regard to Wealth and Taxes, as well as to Cities, Towns and Boroughs, which have a lute, within his particular District, GRight to be represented in Parliament; for if any Returning Officer, by whatever Name call'd, should be found guilty of making a falle Return, or of any other unwarrantable Practices in the Discharge of his Duty, no Rigour of Punishment can be too severe for him; because, in that Case, the County, City, or Borough, cannot be justly faid to be turning Officer; and if any Candidate for a Seat in the House of Commons; the chief Support of our Liberties and Properties, should ever presume to prostitute and abandon himself in such a Manner, in order to be return'd, for vile and merce. B nothing can shake him with ---. naty Ends, as to forge or counterfeit any Corporation Seal, I will not take upon myself to determine how far the Rules of Law may extend against him; but sure I am, that he ought to be hooted out of that auguit Affembly.

The Justice of the present House of Commons, already inflicted upon fuch notorious Delinquents and Violators of all Laws, both human and divine, give us the utmost Reason to hope, believe, and expect that none of them will be able to escape, D without due Examination and Punishment, according to their respec-

tive Offences.

I need not inforce the Doctrine of Attendance in Parliament, at this critical Conjuncture; fince it hath been so well explain'd by several B excellent Hands, and so fully answer'd by our Representatives already, that it would be justly thought impertinent in me to fay any farther upon that Head.

Common Sense, Jan. 16. Nº 257.

Of the Administration in free States, and its Abuses.

N free States, when any that are entrusted with the Administration of publick Affairs defign to exescise a more arbitrary Degree of G Power than is confiftent with the Nature of the Government, they always fet out with specious Pretences to publick Good.

In limited Monarchies, the executive Part must be divided into different Offices, which ought to be intirely independent of each other.

If a Man who is intrufted in Conjunction with others over a fingle represented at all, unless by the Re- A Branch, defigns to usurp not only the fole Power of that, but of all the other Offices of the Government, leaving to those who ought to be his Equals, the honourable Name of his Tools, he ought to conceal his Game till he is fure that

Nothing can contribute more to fuch a Man's Defigns, than Parties in the Country. A pretended Zeal for a Party covers a Multitude of Sins, in the Opinions of all those that are Bigots to that Party : Peo-C ple of this Character will support a Minister in Things the most prejudical to the Commonwealth, provided you can but make them believe, that it is for the Good of the Party: They will become the Slaves of fuch a Man, without knowing that they are so. - Bigots of all Kinds are the weakest Creatures of the human Species.

There is a second Sort who act with this or that Party, without examining into the Merits of either, for no Reason, but because it happen'd at the Beginning of their Lives that their Acquaintance lay among People on that Side of the Question; their Principle is only a Kind of Complaifance to do as their Company does :-- Thefe will go

fome Lengths.

There is a third Sort who think, that if Government be wifely and honestly administred, it is indifferent which Side is uppermoft; thefe will act with either as long as the publick Interest is pursued, they will even forgive fome fmall Errors tho' they will not approve of them; like iome good natured Creditors, they will take a Minister's Word once or twice more, altho' he hath deceived them

them before; but when they find no Amendment, when they fee nothing but a Mixture of Ignorance and Knayery in all publick Meafures, they will trust no longer :-They confider the Country, they from a right Principle oppose those

they had before supported.

Our Man in Power finding himfelf left and opposed by all such whose Reputations were before of Use to him, and serv'd to give a Kind of Sanction to his bad Mea- B fures, is forc'd to pick up People without Name, without Interest, without Character to fupply their Places,---People so obscure, that they never had Fathers or Mothers. and had they not been drawn out would not have known by what Names to have call'd them; and thus is such a Minister left at last, with the Rump, the Tail, the Refuse, the rotten End of a despicable Faction.

I hope nothing like this will ever D happen in this Nation; --- we may pronounce we are in no Danger of it; for fince the Nation's future Prosperity depends upon the Attendance of a few Gentlemen, we are very fure they will attend; -- the strongest Excuses that any Gentle- E man can make for being absent, must appear Trisles light as Air in Comparison of what is now depend-

If fomething dangerous to the Constitution should pass by the Abfence of a fingle Man one Day, F how would it found if he should plead in his Excuse, that his Lady by in, as if he was to play the Midwife; or that his Brother or Child was dead, as if he was the Undertaker.

absent as Things now stand, would be like a Man's throwing up the Cards when the Game is fure in his

Hand, which must bring him under the Suspicion of confederating with Sharpers to cheat his own Friends who had engaged on his Side.

There is a Circumstance, sufficiconfider their own Reputation, and A ent of itself to deter a Man from listing under the Banners of him who is the Object of universal Hatred; which is, to be looked upon as an Enemy wherever he comes. -When a Man knows that nothing but Decency to the rest of the Company, can hinder fome one from telling him his own wherever he appears, what an uneasy State of Life must it be to one who hath any Sense of Feeling? If this be the Case while they are under the Protection of Power, what will it be to difgrace the Nation, the People C when that Protection is withdrawn, and they are upon a Level with the Lowest? I believe the Time is not far off, when these People will think themselves extremely obliged to a Man that will fo much as return their Bow.

I shall agree, that it is still in the Power of many to obtain Quarter, -All that have kept their Hands clean in their Offices will be well receiv'd; --- those indeed that have been concern'd in the Jobb-Work must hold out to the last, they must fink or fwim with him; but it is not too late for the others to repent and fall into the true Interest of

their Country.

Craftsman, Jan. 23. Nº 812.

To the Worshipful George Trueman, Efg; Lord of the Manor of Whitecliff.

May it please your Worship,

To permit us, the whole Body of your Tenants, to lay before you a general Complaint of the manifold Hardships we now lie under, and have suffered upwards of 14 Years, from the iniquitous and treacherous For the Nation's Friends to be G Practices of your wicked Steward, Mr. Robert Blueskin. Your Worship may be assured,
it is under the deepest Sense of your Justice,
Good-nature, and other excellent Virtues, that we prefume to trouble you with this

Remonstrance, and flatter ourselves, that we mall find a speedy Redress of all our Grievances. We are fully convinced, how much it is your Worthip's Resolution to defend us in a quiet Occupation of all our Tenures; that we should have the free Use of all the Commens, and of the Ways which lie thro' them, within your Worship's ancient and accustomed A Manor; and when, not without some Diffi-culty, we found a Way to acquaint your Worthip how injuriously we were treated by Sir Philip Strut's People, who would never fuffer us to carry any Thing across the Woft Common, without stopping the Teams, and unloading and searching them, upon a sham Pretence, that we had stolen Things out of their Grounds; and would sometimes take B Horses, Carriages, and the whole Load, away to one of Sir Philip's Farms, and there keep them, contrary to all Law and Equity: When your Worship, after some Years, came to the Knowledge of it, a just Sense of your own Honour, join'd to a compassiomate Regard for your abused Tenants, soon made your Worthip resolve to call Sir Philip to Account, and to authorize and impower your Tenants thenceforward to make what Reprifals they could, to affemble in a Body, and, by Force, recover from any of the Farms of the faid Sir Philip, whatever Goods or Chattels should come first to Hand, till we had obtain'd full Satisfaction for all our Loffes. Notwithstanding which your Worship's good put your Worfhip in Mind, that we fill labour under as great Hardships as ever; not for Want of either Courage or Strength to do ourseives Justice, but from the unparal-Iel'd Management of your Worship's Steward aforesaid, whose daily Actions give us but too much Reason to suspect that he is under hand serving the Interest, not only of Ser Philip, but of others, your Worship's inweterate Enemies, and particularly 'Squire Babon, the Parson of whose Parish, 'tis gemerally believed, knows enough to hang him, whenever he pleases. Your Worship's Temants (with Submission be it spoken) want meither good Hearts, able Bodies, or willing Bobsen's both together, upon any Spot of the Common; yet such are Mr. Blue Ain's Contri-wances, that hitherto we have bad sew or no Opportunities of coming up with them, or making ourselves the least Amends, according to your Worship's most gracious Inten-tion. For, under Pretence that nothing could be attempted without special Directions from your Worthip, he would fummen G us to meet at the Ship and Caffle Alehouse in the Village, with good Clubs and Quar-terflaffs, and there keep us, our Sons, and our Servants, from our Work, Day after

Day, and never let us know what we are to do. Sometimes he would fay, we must stay till the Change of the Moon; but the Moon changed and changed again, and we never flir'd. Then, forfooth, we must tarry for Newbury Fair, and fall upon them as they were returning home with their Money in their Pockets. Then he would fay, wo must not be all in one Place, but some here, some there; under this Pretence we were divided; one Parcel of us were feat into the West Common, another into Midland Common, and the reft kept loitering in the Village; all of us eating and drinking, and wearing out our Apparel all the While, partly at your Worship's, and partly at our own Expence, to our Loss of Time, Neglect of all Manner of Bufiness, and thereby Impoverishment and Ruin of our Families; and, what was worst of all, Sir Philip's Tenants, in the mean Time, with better Colour than ever, enteriog our Folds; and carrying off whatever they could lay their Hands on. Indeed he was fomewhat disappointed by the Company he fent to the West Common; for these (as your Worship may remember) being headed by James Green the Thresber, as clever and as front a Fellow as ever handled a Flail, whom Mr. Bluefkin fancy'd was only a Prater, and would not dare to fall upon them with fo few as he had with him, (Mr. Blueskin having taken Care to send, as he thought, few enough:) But what does honest James Intention, we must yet again beg Leave to D do, as soon as ever he got there, before the Steward could countermand the fight Orders, (as he had Reason to suspect he would) but fall to work upon the tightest little Hamlet Sir Philip has belonging to him, broke down all the Fences, and drove off the Premises all their Beafts that were worth taking; and if he had had but a few Hands more, would have gone to the next Hamlet, tho' twice as big, and no Doubt have done the fame Execution there. This we know was welcome News to your Worship, and agreeable to that just Resentment to which you had been so long and so often provoked by the insolent Behaviour of the Struts; but it was far othermeither good Hearts, able Bodies, or willing Minds, and verily think they could play their Parts with Sir Philip's Folks, and 'Squire F Pit of Hell, call'd him a hot-brain'd, conecited Puppy, and swore he should pay for his Rashness,—And so, the Company that he sent to the Midland Common, what have they done, befide spending your Worship a World of Money, and losing their own Time and Labour?—Then, as to the lesser of the three Tumpy Closes that lie a little Way up in that Common, and the old Roman Camp commonly call'd Fairy Rudges, that lies on the left Hand, just as you come out of the nurrow Lane that leads from the Great Common into Midland Common, (both of them now Part of your Worship's Estate,

which

which were formerly in the Poffession of the Struts, and of which your Worship's Ancestors having, by a forcible Entry, disposses'd hir Philip, did afterwards become legally insested by a Decree in Chancery:) It is well known the Strut Family have always pre-tended a Claim to them; my Lady has given out, that the will never let Sir Philip reft till he has recover'd them; and it is generally thought, by your Worship's Tenants and all the Country, that your Worship's own Stew-ard, Mr. Blueskin, has given Assurances both to my Lady Strut and to the old Parfon of Squire Baboon's Parish, that he will do all that lies in his Power to persuade your Worthip to yield them up quietly, in order to pacify Sir Philip, and prevent his People from B committing such unjust Outrages upon your Tenants. But, as we are confident, from your Worship's known Sense of Honour, that you will fcorn any fuch cowardly Compliance, fo on the other hand your Worship may be affured that we, your Tenants, would factice all we are worth, rather than the Struts should have Possession of that Close and the Rudges again; for the Midland Common, which as now fo convenient to us on account of our Sheep, would not only be of no Use, but exceeding dangerous to our People in their paffing too and fro, if it were not for our beng posses'd of those two Cots, which are landing one in the Close and the other in the Rudger. To one or the other of these our Shepherds retire upon Occasion, and are shel- D er'd from the Inclemencies of the Weather. Here, they sometimes barricade themselves when like to be overpow'd by your Worship's Iworn Enemies, the Struts and the Babians; and fometimes fally out, as they have Opportunity, and take a little Revenge. By what we now do, we know what may be done by them. A few Lads of Metal, with no other Weapons than the Stones which the two old Gravel-Pits may furnish them with, one in leffer Tumpy, and the other in the Rudges, might easily hinder any from coming out of the narrow Lane into the Mid-land Common, or after from passing by the Tumpy Closes on either Side.—We farther prefume, your Worthip would be far from counenancing the corrupt Practices of Mr. Bluehin at his keeping of your Worship's annual Courts Leet and Baron; and that you little hink in how bare-faced and avowed a Manper, at such Times, he packs and bribes the Jury, in order to get such Presentments made as may best serve his own vile Purposes. The wast Sums which he thus squanders away upon these Occasions, and are for the most Part unjustly extorted from us, your Worship G may partly judge of by this Article in his Account: Necessary Expenses at the Times of Court-Keeping. And no longer ago than the less Leet, believing he had got a Jury to his

Mind, he had the Impudence in his Charge publickly to affore all the Tenants in your Worship's Name, that you had done every Thing, and taken all such Steps as they defired, against Sir Philip Strut; that you had begun a Law-Suit with him purely at their Request; and had order'd James the Thresher to fall upon the Hamlets in the West Common, merely because you found they were inclinable to it. For which Kind of Discourse we can scarce think he has any Authority from your Worship; but only wants to make my Lady Strut and the old Parson believe, that himself and your Worship, thro' his Instuence, were against giving them any Molestation at all, and compell'd, as it were, to suffer some Things to be done, only to stop the Mouths of some of your unreasonable, clamorous Tenants. For the Truth is this; had our Inclication been made known to your Worthip, you would have found it in our Withes, that you had taken the Struts to Talk from the Time that you first came to the Estate, upwards of 14 Years ago; and that, (not only James the Thresher, with half a Dozen or half a Score Hands to lie idle in a daily Expectation of more Company and further Instructions, but) all of us should have been sent in a Body into the West Common, where the best-stock'd of Sir Philip's Farms lie; where we humbly prefume we should soon have done ourselves ample Justice, and have faved your Worship many a good Pound, which you have spent, and may yet be obliged to spend at Law with bim and 'Squire Baboon, before you can obtain a full and honourable Satisfaction for yourself and Tenants. We conceive also, that the Steward, by this Charge, expected that the Jury, in Behalf of all your Worship's Tenants, would have defired him to return your Worship their Thanks, for having so zealously endeavour'd to see they had Justice done them against the injurious Proceedings of the Struts; by which they must have given a Kind of Sanction to his base Transactions, and precluded them-selves, in a great Measure, from making the Complaints against him, which they now presume to lay before your Worship, which, tho not the Tithe of what they could make, yet must be sufficient, we conceive, to give your Worship such a View of our deplorable State, as to induce you to commiserate your poor distress'd Tenants, and no longer leave us at the Mercy of the infolent Struts and Baboons, and their Confederate, your Wox-thip's wicked Steward, Mr. Robert Blueskin.

Common Senfe, Jan. 23. Nº 258.

I T may be imagined, that, when one.

Man is the whole Government, the first
Object of his Care will be to preserve himfelf against his Enemies, i. e. against the

whole Nation, and that such an unnatural Power cannot be supported, but by an unna-tural Expence, wherein neither the Interest, the Honour, nor Safety of the Common-

wealth are any Ways concern'd.

It is an old Observation, that those who do the Injury are the first that hate. The Man who usurps such an exorbitant Power will certainly hate the whole People; he will look upon them all to be his Enemies, from a Consciousness that he hath given them Provocation enough to be for; and of Consequence he must do his utmost to wrest out of their Hands that Power of punishing State Delinquents, which by the Nature of all free Governments is lodg'd in them.

The continual Oppressions that must be B Inid upon the Subjects, in order to keep this Man upon his Legs, will be intolerable: E-very Project which tends to impoverish the Gentry and common People will be encou-rag'd, because Poverty finks Mens Spirits, and renders them fit for Servitude. Perhaps an arm'd Force may be kept up, which may ferve two Purposes; to make the People poor, and keep them in Subjection. In fine, all the while fach an unnatural Power is building up, the People live under a Harrow.

I take this to be a plain and natural Defeription of a free State, wherein some one bold Man attempts to grasp at the whole Government; and it may be imagined, that where the Parties are, a fingle Man Mafter of the Wealth and Power of the Kingdom D on the one Side, and the Conflitution of a free Government on the other, the Struggle will be very great, and the Country, while it lass, must suffer the Nature of a Civil War: But there is this Comfort however, that if, before the People are quite subdued the Invader (for fo I think I may call him) lofes an Inch of Ground, he is gone ! He is under a Necessity of being always successful, it is incumbent upon him to carry every Point; for if the Nation once rifes upon him, they must, they will follow the Blow, they cannot leave him till they crush him to Atoms; they know their own Danger, they most be sensible they are in the Condition of a fingle Man attack'd by a Ruffian; every Thing they do against him is fe defendendo.

It may be urg'd, that the single Man hath

many Advantages over the Constitution in this Struggle: He hath the Treasure and the Preferments at his Disposal ;-he has white Staffs, and Ribbons and Titles (B-s) to please F-ls; he bath more substantial Temptations to gratify the Avaritious and Corrupt ; befides, when it is feen that he makes Use of his Power to protect Rogues, all Persons G of that Denomination will of course run in

In the next Place, it may be urg'd, that

his Party is a close connected Body, a Kind of Macedonian Phalanx, that moves and acts as one Man: It is a Machine confifting of many Wheels, performing all its Opera-tions by the Touch of one Hand. Whereas the Friends of the Publick confit of Volunteers, every Man acting according to his own private Judgment, without Controll, without Reward; belides, they may have private Piques and private Prejudices against each other, which sometimes enter into publick Affairs, and disconcert the best Defigns. I will allow these are great Advantages.

Notwithstanding all which, when the whole People are on the other Side, the whole People (I fay) must carry such Weight wherever they go, that, provided there be Unanimity and Industry among those that act for them, one would think that nothing

can relift them.

Another Thing that must be consider'd is, that when the Man and his Power begin to be hated, those Temptations in his Hands begin to lofe their usual Charms: When he is opposed by all Men of Honour, how low must that Creature be in Understanding that can be allured by a little Feather in his Cap to expose himself to Hatred and Contempt!

When the Opposition grows formidable, there are other Circumstances which may turn in Favour of the Publick, and one is, that probably the Dictator will be as much embarrass'd by his own Party as by the other Side. Broken Promises will now be reviv'd, and new Demands will be made: Nobody will wait when a general Opinion prevails, that in a little Time it will not be in his Power to make good his corrupt Bargains. To de-pend for Preferment upon a Man who is upon the Brink of Ruin himself, would be like putting your Money into the Hands of one whom you expected every Hour to be declar'd a Bankrupt : Whoever trufted him one Week, would be counted an Ideot even by his own

Party.

What must be do, when every Man expects to be paid in Proportion to his Danger and the Necessity he is under for their Help, and when his Credit is so bad, that, like a Bankrupt, he must pay ready Money? How will he be able to go on? How long will Things last? I think, when a Man, universally hated, comes to be so possi'd, it would be no Wonder if he should suffer the Fate of Action, and we should see him worried by his own Hounds.

N. B. We have receiv'd a Letter from New Bond-firect, and offure the Secretary of the Club, that we have already comply'd with his Defire as far as it is proper, and shall continue

A YORKSHIRE PASTORAL.

BENEATH a hazle's unfrequented shade The desolate Chiddilla sighing laid:
"Twas love that robb'd the filly maid of rest, Lave, the worst tyrant of a gentle breast!

Ah! well-a-day, fine cry d, can Cuddy fcorn. The girl to whom so oft he love has sworn? Can he recal those melting am'rous vows, Which he wou'd whisper while I milk'd the

Cows, [fay, And all the tender things which he wou'd While we alone i'th' fields were making hay, And now to his Gloddilla be so shy? Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'se die.

What is there I to Guddy e'er refus'd?
How often Colin for his fake abus'd!
Colin! who on his pipe so sweetly plays,
So many carols sings, and rural lays.
And did not Lucy, Colin too approve?
Why shou'd not Cuddy then Cloddilla love?
But Cuddy to Cloddilla still is shy,
Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'se die.

Ah! had I Hobbinol but haply lov'd,
I shou'd not now those piteous plaints have
mov'd;

Nor Hobbinol have run beside his wits,
And raving, talk'd of love and scorn by sits.
But why do I accuse my filly will,
For sate, they say, predestines weedings still:
May Cuddy's lot and mine this verify.
Else, woe is me! with pining grief I'se die.

What the I be not fair, but rather brown, I've yet been prais'd by many a neighb'ring clown;

And tho' no flow'rs so white as lilies are,
Are none so beautiful, because less fair?
As I've been told, I've no uncomely mien,
And in my shape is due proportion seen;
I sing as sweet as any nightingale,
And none can trip more nimbly with a pail:
But Cuddy's blind to what all others spy.
Ah! woe is me, with plining grief I'se die.

Blithe Marian now receives his flatt'ring vows, [white cows; Marian who milks, they fay, three milk-But grant that this is true, as well 'tmay be, Can Marian for this compare to me? Is this enough to make her Cuddy's bride? For nothing must be e'er expect beside, Except old Hodge and goody Tattle lie.

Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'se die.

I've twenty sheep, ten lambkins, and a farm, [warm; Besides a well-thatch'd house to keep us And seather-bed, as soft as any down; All these, if Cuddy will, shall be his own: But if all these my Cuddy cannot buy, Ah! woe is me, with pining grief I'se die.

Thus having faid, the to her cot withdrew, And wail'd, cause Guddy was not there, a new.

ÆNIGMA.

ADIES, I'm under hedges seen,
Near the bank-side I often lay,
Oft near your walks, or near a stile,
But oft'ner in the publick way.
Strange is my fate! forlorn I seem,
Unvisited in wintry weather;

Unvifited in wintry weather;
But when bright Phaebus burns the plains,
Thousands dance round me all together:

Yet still I like my winter's life,
Less damag'd, when alone I lay;
I'm kis'd, 'tis true, all summer-time,
But kis'd and sipt, till sipt away.

There's not a creature wings the air,
That swims the sea, or moves on earth;
Kings, princes, dukes, the meanest slaves,
Tinkers and fiddlers, give me birth.

Sometimes, when born, I cause no pain,
Sometimes distort the sweetest faces:

It's seldom I confine the fair,

Or lessen their distinguish'd graces.

The dame at fourscore bears me well,

No male's concern'd in my production;

Sometimes I'm still-born, oft'ner not:

The hind's earith'd by my destruction.

What tho' my parents different are,
Some mean and low, some high and great;
Like are my features, like my form;
I'm not improv'd by wealth or state.

My shape is conical, sometimes
Cylindrical, or somewhat broader;
Sometimes all surface I appear,
But then my parent's out of order.

It's true, the rich for selfish ends

Build stately receptacles for me;

The peasant drops me in a hole:

Yet rich and poor alike abhor me.

You've often read of me in Martial,

I much affift the witty joker;

Yet out of ev'ry room I'm thrust

With brush and shovel, tongs and poker.

The artist forms me of fost wax,

To raise in company loud laughter;

Dropt near a chair, Tim bursts his sides,

And Cloe scarce can hold her water.

I give rife to a pack of knaves,

That drive me from the place I'm hid in,

Sport with the nightly talk, and feem

As merry, as when at a wedding,

I pay no clerks, yet, wond'rous ftrange!

Of offices I have great pleaty,

Well-flock'd with papers of all forts;

You'll find my warehouse seldom ampty.

Hither fair Close oft resorts,
Not hinder'd by the foulest weather;
If seen, the blushing nymph returns,
Stoops, and picks up a straw or feather.

to profit the meaning of the court of

Old Galen handled me with glee, Sanctorius weigh'd me very nicely; And if philosophers say true,

Sage Helmont knew my worth precisely.

I'm not by Æsculapius' sons, Tho now more squeamish, quite neglected:

A knight in England; but, hard fate! Little, ah! little more respected.

There's no man but with awe comes near Thief-like, at night I do most harm: Ye Edinborough lads then fear me!

Now, ladies, if by all these marks
You find it difficult to tell me,
Trust to your ——: now I've done;
For surely you begin to smell me.

Oxon.

DAVUS.

To a young LADY, with Felton's Differtation on Reading the Classics, and Forming a just Style.

Dear Miss.

Charg'd with profaic fense, big with poetic rage:

[known, To this great judge each writer's faults were And ev'ry author's merit, but—his own.

O'er ev'ry age and class the censor fits, And candidly or taxes, or acquits:
In prose and poetry alike presides;
And thro' each dubious work impartial guides.
In all the force of critic light and shade
Behold each author's pourtrait, here display'd.

Whom to reject, hence learn, and whom retain;

[L—ne*.

And which the study, which besits D-ck-Far-rais'd above the million's vulgar slight, To read, in this fair page you'll learn, and gurite:

With their criteria either science grac'd,
And in good sense and criticism plac'd.
To laws still bound, strict as the Athenian stage,
We enter here into each tortur'd page.
Smit with these rules, contemptuous throw

afide

Each low inclassic secretary guide;
And, form'd on better models, dare to find
The native riches of your growing mind.
With such a guide to either style proceed,
And emulate the authors whom you read.

By laws like these politer Felton fir'd Rutland's young mind, and a chaste pen inspir'd.

Nor wou'd the great praceptor frown to view A present worthy Ross, transfer'd to you;
Nor Manor's † self with greater reason blame
This re-inscription to my T——'s fair name.

O thou, my early care, and lasting hope! Whose youth's a harvest of no scanty crop; In whose first dawn, and op'ning bloom, we find [join'd';
The father's depth, and mother's sweetness Accept this finish'd piece—Nor thou refuse
The tend'rest wishes of no venal muse.

Wrapt into future times, the bard furveys
The elder bleffings of your riper days:
In one fine woman fondly hopes to fee
The fairest transcripts of the fairest three,
While S—, C—, W—— I charm in
thee.

(Thus, in Timotheus' name resplendent shone Eunite's worth and Lois's, in one.)

Now he pursues you through bright Hymen's flame; [name]
(Your beauties on z through ev'ry change of Thence promises a lovely line of heirs,
Worthy their fires' and suture Felton's cares.
Fir'd with that name, laythese rude sketches by,
The courtly tutor's page demands your eye.
—No more—May ev'ry grace and joy abound,
And flow'ry years fill your long life's encircling round,

Jan. 1, 1741-2,

J. RHUDD.

AHYMN.

ORD! in the folemn shades of night,
When I behold the skies,
In contemplation of thy works,
My thoughts to heaven rife.

Array'd in robes of light,
Who form'd her lucent orb, I cry,
Must be supremely bright.

But when I view ten thousand stars Shining with rival rays, My soaring soul the sky transcends,

And thinks the fees thy blaze:

Transported with extatic love,

Ingulph'd in blifs I fland, Gaze on thy dazzling beams, and taffe The joys at thy right hand:

Colestial pleasures thro' my veins In floods of transport roll; And thy amazing goodness, Lord! With rapture melts my foul.

7. DINSDALE.

To the AUTHOR of the London Ma-GAZINE.

A CERTAIN extreamly-good Lady, and much-honour'd Friend of mine [], feem'd fomewhat diverted, the other Day, with a very small Part of the ensuing Story. This Incident has encourag'd me to turn the Whole into Metre; which (if you'll indulge me so far) may be speedily communicated by

* See Pope's Essay on Criticism. Miscell. Vol. I. p. 85. † Family Name of John, Lord Roos, Duke of Rutland, A. D. 1710. † Miss Grandmamma's Maiden Name. † Miss Grandmamma's Maiden Name. | Ledy H * * * of H * * of H * of

your Means. I have purposely spun out the Thing to a confiderable Length : A little poetical Amplification, methought, wou'd not be much amis. A Tale, (you know, Sir) when duly protracted, may not unfitly beguile the wonted Tediousness of a Winter's Evening .- If the Trifle should fortunately afford her Ladyship (with a few more Readers of the like Candour) some small Entertainment, I shall, in that Case, forgive my Mose her Officiousness; and my Friends, I hope, will pardon likewise the Impertinence of,

Jan, 12, 8 I R.

3741-2.

Your very bumble Servant.

The FRIGHTED FARMER.

A TALE.

ET modern Sadduceer declaim on, A Nor care to own a cacodæmon; Be goblins, elves, and apparitions The fport of infidel-phyficians; Let phil Tophic pedants grin, And, in presumptuous fort, begin To muster up whate'er they can say Of mere illusion,—thrength of foncy,— Long prejudice, -and early fears, -Notions imbib'd in younger years,-And grofs deception of our fenses; These are, we know, the grand pretences: But, sh!-how groundless, giddy, vain, The following flory will explain. 'Tis certain fact, tho' coarfely told: The matter, prithee, Muse, unfold.

Oge day, an honest farmer went (Roger by name) to pay his rent: The bumkin, in his very beft, As prim as any quaker dreft, Did, with a boorish kind of pride, Sure-footed, sturdy Brock bestride. His fob replete with glitt'ring pence, Gave him an air of confidence: But yet it griev'd the gaffer fore, To think, how foon the precious ore Must for his landlord be secur'd, By that infatiate leech, the fleward:
The thought e'en pierc'd him to the heart; But deareft friends, alas! muft part. He jogg'd along, and shook his head; And to himself thus fighing faid .-

Relentless landlords!-fure, O sure, If half the ills that we endure, To you were once but rightly known, To us fome mercy wou'd be flewn: You wou'd not seize upon the spoil, The product of our endless toil; Nor thus ingrofs the annual gains Of all our great, incessant pains. Bat, ah! ye little know the care, The flavish life, the flender fare, The coarse conveniencies, the croffes, The wast expences, various losses, To which poor farmers are expos'd:-Were this but thoroughly disclos'd,

You wou'd not, fure, fo ill requite us, Nor with foul pettifoggers fright us. But-we must strive to be content; Prove honeft men,-and pay our rent : Then shall we need to fear no evil, Nor dread to face the very devil.

He fpoke ;-with harnefs'd heel then four'd Poor Brack, and made him grunt and gurd. But hold,-to hinder rash reflection, I'll obviate here a small objection.

You'll wonder, till you've been acquainted, Why Roger feem'd fo discontented: But, let my courteous reader know, This happen'd many years ago ;-When lawyers, an infernal band! Like locufts, overspread the land ; When pride and hazary the realm, And gen'ral want, did overwhelm; When trade was low, and taxes high, And Britain scarce had one ally. 'Tis odds (tho' not to one quite twenty) That, had he seen these times of pleaty, And been our bleft cotemporary,

Hodge had not feem'd in fuch quandary.
At length, arriving at the 'fquire's,
He for his landlord straight inquires, Dismounts, and gives the horse some bay, And tow'rds the house then takes his way. Into the fleward's hall he's led; Where, tho' not o'er-genteely bred, Hodge to the bailiff makes a bow, As nicely as he well knew how. (The cringing beau, and lawless rake, To ruftics shou'd allowance make.) This done, -the fumbling, lab'ring lout The loaded leathern-purse lugs out; Empties the glitt'ring, splendid store, Which with great care is counted o'er .-

The steward gives him a receipt; The cook, his belly-full of meat: Nor does the jolly butler fail To bring in jugs of nappy ale. Hodge imoak'd his pipe; and freely drinking, Forgot his purse had quite done chinking.

By fellow-farmers now befet, (Upon the like occasion met) With them he falls into discourse. Tells 'em, where Best and Star took horse ; For feed-corn, what one made him pay; And how he fold laft market-day :-Talks of manuring, plowing, fowing, Of harrowing, rowling, reaping, mowing: What management does good,—what, harm; And how he had improved his farm.

Quite merry, he proceeds to quaff, And oft fets up a loud horse-laugh; With roaring voice essays to fing,

And grows as bappy as a king.

Now,—now,—he's almost overcome! 'Tis now high time to think of home. He rifes, -takes his leave of all; And tries to stand,—but sears to fall: Then, bending tow'rds the block his course, From thence be mounts upon his horse.

F 2

Alone

Alone he budg'd;—for, 'lack-a-day!
The rest all gang'd a dist'rent way.
And yet he went not quite alone;
As in the sequel shall be shewn:
For one got up,—you'll quickly find,—
(By him the' unobsetv'd) bebind.

[To be continu'd.]

To Sir JOHN TURNER, Bart. HOR. Lib. II. Ode 3. Æquam memento, &c.

By Mr. WHALEY.

FRIEND, born to die; in Fortune's shade,
Or plac'd beneath her beams;
Nor meanly dull, nor vainly glad,
Avoid all false extremes.

Whether alone in want you live,
Or fpend your happy hour,
And jolly welcome friends receive,
With Nutbal's thirty-four;

Where friendly trees on yonder hill

Abate the noon-tide ray,

Near which the glitt'ring, struggling rill

Finds out its crooked way:

Call wine, and lo! you fading flower,
This morn so freshly blown,
Bids us enjoy the instant hour,
While life and youth's our own.

You, as Sir Charles well did, must leave Your house, your streams, your trees; And what your prudent care shall save, Your grasping heir shall seize.

Whether from kings you drew your breath, Or from the pealant came, Little avails, fince ruthless death

One wheel determines all, one fate
Attends on ev'ry rank;
Come up their chances foon or late,
In death all meet a blank.

To Sir JOHN TURNER, Bart. Member of the House of Commons.

An ODE. In Imitation of,
Equam memento, &c. Hon.

By W. BROWNE, Doctor of Physick of both Universities, and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians.

SIR John, preserve an equal mind,
Unmov'd; if she be cross or kind,
Scorn to be Fortune's creature;
Non own that she has made you great
With title, lands, and senate seat:
To be yourself is greater.
Since you must die, your purse will bear it,
Instead of port, indulge with claret;
Nor die without good living:

Were you in life's dull path to trudge,
As grave and feber as a judge,
From death there's no reprieving.
Chufe out fome hospitable shade,
By the old knight's plantations made,
Trees close with trees uniting;
Where the fine water's peaceful wave
Glides flowly, as if loth to leave
A landskip so delighting.

There let the place be foread with roses,
Whose short lives warn to tope our noses,
And seize each present minute;
That we may boast, as well as they,
The life we lead is sweet and gay:
And more there's nothing in it.

As Lynn and Warham you must quit,
Your charming lake and shady seat,
Let them still merry find you;
Nor plague your thoughts to raise a sum,
For if you cou'd scrape up a plumb,
You must leave all behind you.

A clown's, or rich Sir Charles's heir,
As to the point of dying;
For death makes no more beds than one,
And tho' a friend may add a ftone,
That alters not your lying.

Here we must all, or soon or late,
Pig in together, small and great,
As each receives his summons;
Which life's great wheel decides by lot,
While Charon, in his scorvy boat,
Plies for king, lords and commons.

To CHLOE wearing PATCHES.

The wrinkled Flavia patches wears,
To hide her furrow'd trace of years:
With patches pimpled Phillis covers
Her imperfections from her lovers:
But why? Ah! why hould they diffrace,
And hide so much of Chie's face;
Where each a Capid must difarm,
And each conceal a native charm?
Chie, for shame, all arts despise,
Mistrust not those all-conqu'ring eyes;
No more thy angel beauty shrowd,
But shine, like heav'n, without a cloud.

Epistola Latina, Maria, &cc. muß be deferr'd

The Letters from the Gentleman's Friend at Swatham never came to Hand, that we know of: His Direction was right, and if any Thing proper to be inserted shall be sent, it shall not be neglected. We like the Version of St. Osyth very well, but think the Lines beginning with Est sua somewhat ambiguous, and defire to know of our Correspondent, whether he designs sua to agree with salus, the even then it seems somewhat harsh. In the Latin Version of Psalm CXXXVII, where are manifestly some Faults.

THE

Monthly Chronologer.



N Dec. 31, his Majefty apriffs for the Year ensuing, viz. For Berks, Henry La-

noy, Hunter, Efq;—Bedf.

John Lawfon the younger,

Eq;—Bucks, Charles Sawage, Efq;—Cambr. and Hunt. Dingley Afkham, Efq;—Cbefb. Peter Legh, Efq;—Cumb.
Henry Fietcher, Efq;—Devon, Robert Lucas,

Efq;—Dorfet. Robert Barber, Efq;—Effex, Olmond Beavoir, Esq;—Glouc. Sam. Hawker, Esq;—Herts. George Carpenter the younger, Esq;—Kent, John Mason, Esq;—Leic. John Wright, Esq;—Linc. Francis Daytell, Esq; - Monn. Richard Clarke, Elg; - Northumb.
Anthony Isascion, Elg; - Northamp. Thomas
Powys. Elg; - Norfalk, John Thurstone, Elg; Natting bam. William Cartwright, Efq;—Oxford. John Nourse, Esq;—Rutland. John Brown, Esq;—Sbrop. Revel Moseton, Esq.—Somerset. Sir William Pynsent, Bart.—Suffolk, Alexander Bence, Esq;—Soutbamp. Thomas Wyndham, Esq;—Surrey, Tho. Bevois, Esq;—Warwick. Charles Savage, Esq.—Worcest. Nicholas Bennet, Esq.;—Wilts, William Batt, Esq.—For South-Wales: Brecon, Anthony Morgan, Esq.;—Glamorgan, Edward Popham, Esq.;—Radnor. Thomas Hughes, Esq.;—For North-Wales: Anglesea, Hugh Jones, Esq.;—Carnarwon. Hugh Williams, Esq.;—Denbigh, John Edwards, Esq.;—Flint. William Myddelton, Esq.;—Merioneth. Rob. Griffith, Esq.;—Montgomery. Rees Lloyd, Esq.; -Nattingbam. William Cartwright, Efq;-

-Montgomery. Rees Lloyd, Efq; On the same Day, the Right Hon, the Lord Visc. Perceval and Charles Edwin, Esq; were, without Opposition, elected Members of Parliament for the City of Westminster; on which Occasion extraordinary Rejoicings were made by the Ishabitants, through the whole City and Liberties: And the Thanks of the two worthy Representatives were publickly

return'd, as follows.

To the Independent Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

Gentlemen,

WE could have no Excuse, after the great Honour we have received from you, by your difinterested and unanimous Choice of us, to be the Guardians of your Liberties in Parliament at this critical Conjuncture, if we did not take the first Opportunity to express our Gratitude: We therefore now return our humble Thanks; but must leave it to Time to prove by our pub-

lick Conduct, how deeply and fincerely we are affected by this Obligation.-In the mean while, you may rest affured, that there shall be nothing wanting in our Power, to shew ourselves deserving of that Confidence you have reposed in us: And that we value and effeem the Favour you have conferred upon us, beyond the greatest of those Temptations which have corrupted, diverted, and deluded so great a Number from the Duty of that important Station, in which we have been to generously placed by you.

Gentlemen, we are with great Truth, Your most faithful, obliged, And bumble Servants,

Dec. 31, 1741.

PERCEVAL. CHA. EDWIN.

TUESDAY, Jan. 5. At a general Meeting of the Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster, held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, it was agreed, nem. con. to present Instructions to their Members; and a Committee being appointed, the following were drawn up, unanimoully approved of, and afterwards presented by the Burgesses and Inhabitants of the faid City and Liberty.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount PERCE. VAL, and CHARLES EDWIN, E/9;

WE the Burgesses and Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of Westminster, being truly fensible of the impending Dangers that threaten Europe at this critical Conjuncture, cannot omit the Occasion, which now offers, of communicating to you our Sentiments upon the present Posture of Affairs, both at home and abroad, that so his Majesty (as much as in us lies) may have the Satiffaction he proposes to himself, by Means of the new Elections, an Opportunity of know-ing the more immediate Sense and Disposition of his People in general.

And though your Regard for the Publick, and known Zeal for the present Royal Family, (under whom alone this Nation can be free and happy) leave us no Room to doubt but that you will diligently attend your Duty. in Parliament; yet we crave Leave most earnestly to recommend it to you, especially at this Time, when the Posture of Affairs makes your Counsel and Affistance so ne-

We cannot but lament that the War with Spain (a War in itself just and necessary, enter'd into by the repeated Advice of both Houses of Parliament) should have been carried on, during the whole Course of it, with so little Vigour and Success: We therefore seriously recommend it to you to examine the Conduct of it, and to make strict Inquiry into the Cause, why, after such Profusion of publick Treasure, the Kingdom has received so little Reparation for the Injuries and Insults

it has fo long fuftain'd.

As we are truly sensible of the Benefit we have received from the Justice of Parliament, in having the great Privilege restored to us, of being represented by Members of our own chusing, so we cannot but earnessly entreat you to be assistanced in doing the same Justice to all other Petitioners, who may have been deprived of their most valuable Birthright, by the Iniquity of their Returning Officers, and realously to promote such Bills as may be thought necessary for securing the Rights of Electors, and the Independency of the Elected, and in particular for the restoring Triennial Parliaments.

The Experience of former Times evinces, how dangerous it is to the Conflictation to have the Parliament fill'd with Numbers of Placemen, who may be too often at the arbitrary Beck of any Minister; and it is from the Freedom of our Representatives that we can alone hope to be extricated from the Labyrinth of Missortunes, in which we apprehend we are at present involved.

We earnestly recommend to you to oppose the keeping up of standing Armies in Time of Peace, as being burdensome to the Subject, and dangerous to our Liberties, the ill Effects

of which we have so lately felt.

We also recommend to you to oppose any Attempt that shall at any Time be made for extending the Laws of Excise, and to support any Bill or Bills that may brought in for the more effectual preventing the Exportation of Wool to any foreign Country.

FRIDAY, 8.
From the London Gazette.

A Letter from Capt. Hervey, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the Superbe, dated in Kinfale Harbour, into which he had been driven by contrary Winds, gives the following Account: That in his Passage from the West-Indies, in the Lat. of 33. 20. Long. 65. Weff, he had taken a Spanife Ship call'd the Constante, of 24 Guns and 64 Men, between 3 and 400 Tons, who came from the Coraccas, bound for the Canaries, laden with Cocoa. Advice is likewise brought by the Superbe, that Capt. Brodrick, in the Shorebam, had, in bis Cruise off Caribagena, taken a Champana, laden partly with Bale Goods, that were of the Cargo of the Galleons, going for Mempes, and partly Money, which together are computed at near 80,000 Pieces of Eight Value: Also, that the Augusta had chased a Spanish

Privateer into Port Francois, and retaken a Prize from her; and had likewise taken and fent into Jamaica, a Spanish Caracca Ship of 300 Tons and 53 Men, which came from the Hawanna, Aug. 5. N. S. bound to the Coast of Caraccas, but losing her Mast in her Paffage, was going to Port Francis to refit; but the Governor of the Havanna, Araitened for Money, had taken out of her 80,000 Pieces of Eight for the Urgencies of the publick Service. There are likewise Letters by the Superbe, which mention the Death of Don Blass de Lezo at Cartagena, and give the following Account of what had happened some Time before at the Havanna, viz. That Don Rodrigo de Torres, the Spanish Admiral, sail'd from Cartbagena in the Santa Anna, but that the Ship was run a-ground on the Rocks in their going into the Havanna, and had beat off half her Keel, for which they had been oblig'd to careen her: That the Admiral had then hoisted his Flag on board the Invincible, a new Ship built at the Havanna, and never at-Sea, which was foon after blown up . by Lightning, and in her four Millions of Pieces of Eight; that the Ship having lain within Piftol-Shot of the Walls, the Town was deferted by every Body whilft she was burning; that two Churches had been extreamly damag'd by the Blaft, and the Dome of the principal one must be taken down to repair it; that Don Rodrigo de Torres had himself narrowly escaped in his Boat, and that the next Ship in which he hoisted his Flag had her Main-mast carried away in a Thunder Storm in two Days after his coming aboard. Some Letters from Jamaica mention, that they had heard there from Cartagena, that Admiral Spinola in the Europa, who went from the Havanna for La Vera Cruz, to fetch Money from thence, was loft in his Pailage.

The following was omitted in our last for want of Room, being a Letter which Mr. Speaker receiv'd from Vice-Admiral Vernon, after the Dissolution of the late Parliament, containing his Answer to the Thanks of the House of Commons, transmitted to him, for

his Services in the West-Indies.

THE fingular Honour done me in being thought deserving of the unanimous Thanks of the House of Commons, for my Endeavours to discharge my Duty to his Majesty in these Seas, is what I can't find Words sufficiently to express my grateful Sense of; but I shall ever retain a just Acknowledgment of the great Honour done me by the Hause, in their Approbation of my Services to his Majesty and my Country, and thinking them deserving of their Notice in this publick Manner.

As the publick Approbation of so august an Assembly, is the highest Honour a Sublect can receive, I must beg the Favour of you, Sir, to affore the House, that a grateful Sense of it will never be effaced out of my Memory; and that I shall endeavour, in all my future Conduct, by a continued Diligence, and faithful Discharge of my Duty to his Majefly, in the Execution of his Orders for the Honour of the Crown and Service of my Country, to study to preserve the Continuance of their Efteem.

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I am, SIR, Your most obedient, And most bumble Servant, E. VERNON.

The Lord Chancellor also receiv'd a Letter from the faid Admiral, to the same Purpose, in Answer to the Thanks transmitted to him from the House of Lords.

SATURDAY, 9.

A very fine Piece of Plate was finish'd, defign'd to be presented to Capt. Ambrose, Commander of the Rupert, on his Arrival in Town; (see our Mag. for Dec. laft, p. 619.) On one Part is curioufly wrought the Arms of Capt. Ambrofe, and opposite to it the Rupert chafing a Spanish Privateer; and on the Bason in which it stands, the following Words are engrav'd,

To Captain John Ambrose, In grateful Remembrance Of the fignal and fingular Services Done bis Country against Spanish Privateers,

in 1741, This Piece of Plate is presented by the private Insurers of London.

THURSDAY, 14. The 12 following Malefactors, condemn'd the two last Sessions, (London Mag. for OS. last, p. 515, and Dec. p. 618.) were executed at Tyburn, viz. James Duquois, Joseph Allen, Robert Ramsey, John Culliford, John Newman, William Warner, Samuel Shuffe, Joseph Laycock, Dominick Fitzgerald, James Welfb, Mary Dutton, and Margaret Watson.

TUESDAY, 19. The 7 following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death at the Old Bailey, viz. Thomas Pinks and Stephen Jenkins, for robbing a Higgler of 3 Dozen of Fowls and 41. on the Highway. Eleanor Brown, for picking a Person's Pocket of a Silk Purse, 16s. and a Steel Seal. -Joseph Pigg, for Sheep-stealing. - Marga-ret Burgest, for stealing a Silver Tankard. -Jesse Walden, for Burglary. - And Christopher orden, for robbing Mr. Colt of a Hat and Wig, a Guinea, &c.

WIDNESDAY, 20.

The Merchants of London went up to Parliament with their Petitions, and presented them to both Houses; when that deliver'd to the House of Lords was order'd to be heard on Feb. 4, and that to the House of Commons, the 27th Infant, by themselves or Council.

The Petitions fet forth, as follows: "We your Petitioners, with the utmost Concern, have found ourselves under the Necessity of representing to this House, that the Navigation and Commerce of these Kingdoms have been continually exposed to the growing Info-Jence of the Spanish Privateers, from the Commencement of this just and necessary War; that during its whole Progress and Continuance, notwithstanding the repeated Applications of the foffering Merchants for Protection and Redress, their Losses and Misfortunes have considerably increased of late, to the Impoverishing of many of his Majesty's Subjects, the great Detriment of Trade in general, the Diminution of his Majesty's Revenue, and the Dishonour of the Nation; that upwards of 300 Ships and Vef-fels have been already taken, (the greatest Part of them in or near the British Channel and Soundings) and carried into St. Sebaftian, and other adjacent Ports; by which, Numbers of his Majefly's most useful Subjects have been reduced to Want and Imprisonment; or, compelled by inhuman Treat-ment, and despairing of a Cartel for the Exchange of Prisoners, have inlifted in the Service of Spain. Your Petitioners apprehend, that most of these Missortunes might have been prevented, confidering the Weak-ness of our Enemy at Sea, had a few of his Majesty's Ships of War been properly stationed, and the Commanders kept strictly to their Duty; a Neglect which appears the more furprizing, as there was a Precedent of an Act of Parliament in 1707, expressly made for those Purposes, intitled, An Act for the better fecuring the Trade of this Kingdom, Cruisers and Convoys; that by means of this Neglect, and the many valuable Prizes the Spaniards have made, they have been encouraged and enabled to fit out such Numbers of Privateers from St. Sebastian and Bilboa, exclusive of other Ports, as to render the Navigation to and from these Kingdoms every Day more and more dangerous; and the present great and unexpected Power of the Enemy in the Mediterranean, gives your Petitioners Reason to apprehend, that our Trade is become extremely precarious in those Parts; that there have been various Neglects and Delays in the Appointment and fending out of Convoys; and that out of those few, which have been granted, some of the Commanders have paid so little Regard to the Ships under their Care. that they have deserted them at Sea, and left them as a Prey to the Enemy: And we pray Leave further to represent, that the Navigation to and from several of his Majeffy's Colonies has often been much exposed to the Enemy; and that many Ships have been taken in the American Seas by their Privateers, principally owing, as we prefume, to a Want of a fuffi-

cient Number of Ships, or of proper Care in some of his Majesty's Commanders, stationed in those Parts; that many Ships have been brought into Danger, by the arbitrary impressing of their ablest Hands out of the homeward bound Ships before they had made the Land, or arrived to a Piace of Safety, and out of the outward bound Ships in the Prosecution of their Voyages: And we pray Leave to affure this House, that we do not complain of fuch Captures as are the unavoidable Consequence of a War, but of such only as have been occasioned by a Want of due Care for the Protection of Trade, which has, during the whole War, laboured under an apparent Neglect and Difregard; nor shall we ever be induced, either by our past Misfortunes, or future Apprehensions, in far to forget our Duty to his Majesty and the Legislature, as once to repine or murmur at the present War with Spain, which his Majesty and these Kingdoms are so necessarily engaged in, and upon the vigorous Profecution of which the laterest of the British Trade and the Freedom of Navigation fo evidently depend."

Petitions of the fame Nature were likewife presented from Bideford, Southampton,

Liverprool, Lancaster, &c.

The Anniversary of the Birth of the Prince of Wales was celebrated, who then enter'd into the 36th Year of his Age.

The Number of those that died last Year at Amsterdam were 9864, and of the Marriages 2166. Turs DAY, 26.

The Sheriffs of London went up to Parliament with the Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the faid City,

to the following Effects

" At a Time when a feeble Enemy holds our Naval Power in Derifion, and the Conduct and Diffribution of our Ships of War. are the Subject of universal Censure, to remain unconcerned and filent, would ill be-come the representative Body of this great Metropolis, which so sensibly shares in every publick Misfortune: Your Petitioners therefore beg Leave humbly to represent, that it is with the utmost Grief we have seen the Navigation and Commerce of these Kingdoms to confiantly interrupted, on our own Coasts, and almost in Sight of our late powerful naval Armaments, by the Privateers of Spain, to the Ruin of our Trade, the enriching of the Enemy, and the Difgrace of the British Name; that the Losses hereby fullained, the Manner in which Applications for Redress have been often evaded, and other numerous Inflances of Negligence and Difregard of the commercial Interest of these Kingdoms, (whilst a neighbouring Nation is every Day converting thefe Errors to their own Advantage) have given us the most dreadful Apprehensions, left our Trade, the Foundation of our Wealth and Power, and which has formerly enabled us

to maintain the Liberties of Europe, should be transferred into the Hands of our potent and dangerous Rival; that we cannot but observe with Concern, that those Ships of War, which we might reasonably have expected. would have been employed in protecting our Trade, have not contributed either thereto. or to the Interest or Honour of this Nation; and that we have feen a powerful and wellprovided Fleet remaining inactive in our own Ports, or more ingloriously putting to Sea, without the Appearance of any Enterprize in View, or even the Poffibility of meeting an Enemy worthy of its Attention, whilst our trading Vessels have been daily expesed in the British Channel and Soundings, to the Privateers of a Place to inconfiderable as St. Sebaftians - Notwithstanding these various Subjects of Complaint, your Petitioners do not hereby intend to fignify the least Defire of a Peace with Spain, until his Majesty shall, by a vigorous Profecution of the War, have obtained from the Enemy an ample Acknowledgment of his People's just Rights, and the Possesfion of fuch a Pledge, as may effectually fecure the Freedom of Navigation to our lateft Pofferity."

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

APT. Fox, a West-India Commander,

to Mifs Ellawood.

Rev. Mr. Rorton, Rector of St. Andrew's, Holbourn, to Miss Gordner.

Rev. Dr. Tovey, Principal of New-Inn Hall in Oxford, to Mrs. Tharp.

Charles Penruddeck, of Compton Chamberlain, in Wilts, Fig; to Mils Fanny Windbam.

in Wilts, Esq; to Miss Fanny Windbam.

— Fax, Esq; to Miss Curbbert, only Daughter and Heiress to James Cutbbert, of Carlifle, Esq;

Ephraim Miller, Esq; of Harting fordburg, to the Hon. Mis Belendine, Sifter to Lord Belendine.

Rev. Mr. Jackson, Prebendary of Litchfield, to Miss Anne Smallbroke, youngest Daughter of the Ld. Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.

Samuel Burrought, Esq; one of the Masters in Chancery, to Miss Hurst, a 20,000%, Fortune.

James Comberbach, of Yorksbire, Esq; to Mrs. Leadger of Leeds, a 20,000l. Fortune.

William Bater, Esq; Alderman of Rossishaw Ward, to Miss Tonson, eldest Daughter of the late Jacob Tonson, Esq; Bookseller in the Strand, a 20,000l. Fortune.

The Lady of the Lord Vere Bertie, fafely deliver'd of a Son.

DEATHS.

REV. Mr. Whittingham, Archdeacon of

Sir Matthew Dean, Bart. in Ireland.
In France, Father Bernard de Montfaucon, a Benedictine of the Congregation of St.

Maur, a Fryat of the Abbey of St. Germain de Prez, honorary Member of the Academy of Inferiptions and Belles Lettres, and the Editor of these learned Tomes which are soch a curious Representation and Explanation of Aptiquity. He died suddenly, in the 88th

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Sir William Norwich, Bart, at Market-

Harborough in Leicester bire. Hon. Charles Hamilton, Eiq; youngest Son of the Lord Viscount Limerick

Mrs. Marsh, in Charterbouse-Square, te-

Sir Alexander Murray, of Blackbarony in Scotland, Bart.

Sir William Pole, Bart. at Shute in Devonfoire, fometime Master of the Houshold to

The above mention'd died in December laft.

The most noble Peregrine Bertie, Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, Marquess and Earl of Lindley, Baron Willoughby of Erefby, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, &c. one of the Lords of his Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, and F. R. S. His Grace died on Jan. 1. and left Iffue 3 Sons and 5 Daughters, and is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his eldest Son, Peregrine, Marquess of Lindsey, now Duke of Ancaster, &cc. Lady Sundon, Wife of Lord Sundon, one of the Lords of the Treasury.

Andrew Archer, Efg; in Warwicksbire, Father of Thomas and Henry Archer, Eigrs. Members in the late and present Parliament: He was fix Times elected Knight of the Shire for the County of Warwick,

Lady Anne Harvey, Relieft of Lieut. Gen. Daniel Harvey, eldest Daughter of Ralph late Duke of Montague, and eldest Sister to John

the present Duke.

His Orace the Duke of Montrofe, who was Keeper of the Great Seal in Scotland, but te-Schemes of the Mby his eldest Son, the Marqueis of Grabem and Earl of Wahefield,

Sir Edward Littleton, Bart. at Pilleton in

Staffordsbire.

Right Hon, the Lord Visc. Mayo, of the Kingdom of Ireland.

Hon. Col. Foley, of the Horse Guards.

Sir Marmaduke Grefbam, of Limpsfield in Surrey, Barts descended from the famous Sir Thomas Gresbam, Kat. who built the Royal Exchange.

Lady Skipwith, aged 104

Elizabeth Lady Cotterell, second Wife of Sir Charles Cotterell, Mafter of the Ceremonics, Father of Sir Clement, whose Family have enjoy'd that honourable Post ever fince

Right Rev. Dr. Stepben Weston, Lord Bishop

Rev. Mr. Brudley, aged 82, Canon Refidentiary of York Cathedral.

At Thorner, near Leeds, Mr. John Philips, in the 117th Year of his Agea He was born at Garlton, near Stockley, July 8, 1625, the first Year of K. Charles I, and lived in 8 Kings and Queens Reigns. He walk'd about to his dying Day; his Teeth were good, as was also his Hearing; his Sight tolerable, and was so brisk and active as to resolve to have gone to York, and poll for Mr. Far, at the Election.

Right Hon. the Lord Sherard Manners, Memb. of Parl. for Tawiftocke in Devonsbire.

Thomas Watts, Efq; Memb, of Parl. for Tregony in Cornewall, and one of the Directors of the Sun-Fire Office.

The Lady of Sir Edward Hulfe, Bart. one

of the Physicians to his Majesty

Thomas Pindar, Efq; one of his Majesty's Juffices of the Peace for the County of Mid-

Hon. Charles Campbell, Efq; Representative for the Shire of Argyle in Scotland.

Duncan Urqubart, jun. Eiq; of Burdfyeards, Col. of the third Reg. of Foot Guards.

Hon. Mrs. Eliz. Baldwyn, Sifter to the

Lord Onflow.

Her Grace the Dutchels Downger of St. Alban's, Mother of the present Duke: She was one of the Daughters and Coheireses of the late Aubery de Vere, the last Earl of Oxford of that antient Line.

Dr. Edmund Halley, Altronomy Professor to his Majefty, aged 82, at the Obiervatory

in Greenwich Parks

Duke of Ancaster.

Right Hon. William Lord Statuell, Succeeded by his Brother, now Edw. Ld. Stawell. Hon. Albemarle Bertie, Uncle to the late

Ecclefiaftical PREFERMENTS

R. Josiab Hort, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagb, translated to the Archbishoprick of Tuam, &t. in Ireland, in the Room of Dr. Synge, deceas'd, and to hold the Bishoprick of Ardagh in Commendam.—Dr. John Whetcombe, Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmachingh, made Bishop of Kilfenora, alias Tenebore, in the Room of the said Dr. Synge. -Dr. Joseph Storey, Bishop of Killaloe, trans-lated to the See of Kilmore. - John Ryder, D. D. made Bishop of Killaloe in his Room. -Mr. Theoph, Brecas made Dean of St. Paerich in Killaloe,-Mr. Kenrick Prefeat, B. D. chosen Master of Catherine-Hall, Cambridge, in the Room of Dr. Hubbard, deceas'd .fepb Forby, M. A. presented to the Rectory of Barton St. Andrew's in Norfolk .- Mr. Matt. Hayrick, to the Rectory of Leddings in Northamptonsbire.—Daniel Griffine, L.L.B. to the Rectory of South-Stoke in Suffer.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military. HON. John Ponfonby, Efq; fecood Son to the Earl of Befberough, made Secretary E 1742

to the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland.—Sir Charles Hardy, Knt. made Commander in Chief of all the Ships of War in the Thames and Medway, and at the Buoy in the Nore.—Walter Warburton, Gent. made Constable of Chester Castle.—Henry Compton, Esq; appointed Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Portugal; and Abraham Castres, Esq; Consul General at Liston in his Room.—Tho. Murlay. Esq; made Lord Chief Justice of the Kingh-Bench in Ireland, John Bowes, Esq; Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer there, Arthur Dawson, Esq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer, St. George Cansield, Esq; Attorney General, and Warmen Flood, Esq; Solicitor General.—Sir Tho. Robinson, Bart. made Governor of Barbadnes.—Tho. Medlycott, Esq; a Commissioner of Hawkers and Pedlars.—John Rutherford, Esq; Capt. of an Independent Comp. at Jamaica, New Members chosen.

Albert Nesbiet, Esq; for Huntingdon, in the Room of the Hop. Mr. Hill, who made his Election for Warwick.—Earl of Middlesex, for the County of Sussex.—Lord George Bentinek, for Drottwich in Worcestersbire.—Joseph Wyndham Ashe, Esq; for Downeton in Wilts.

— James Greenwille, Esq; for Old Sarum in Wilts, in the Room of Mr. Lyttleton, who made his Election for Oakhampton in Devonstrie.—Thomas Foley, of Stoke, Esq; for Herefordsire.—Sir Charles Wyndham, Bart. for Apulby in Westmoreland, in the Room of Mr. Doddington, who made his Election for Bridgewater.—William Sloper, Esq; for Whitchurch

in Hampsbire, in the Room of Mr. Wallop, who made his Election for Andover.—Hon.
— Conway, Esq; for Thetsord in Norsola.
—Sir Thomas Mostyn, Bart. for Highamserrers in Northamptonsbire, in the Room of Mr. Finch, who made his Election for Maken in Torksbire.—John Butler, Esq; for East-Grinsted in Sussex.—Cholmondley Turner, Esq; for Yorksbire, by a Majority of 956 against Henry Fox, Esq; the Number for the former being 8005, and for the latter 7049.—L.V. Limerick, for Tavistock.—Hon. Alex. Hume Campbell, Esq; declar'd duly elected for the Shire of Berwick. See the List in our Mag. for Nov. last.

Perfons declar'd BANKRUPTS. TILL. Smith, late of Briftol, Stuff-Maker. - Tho. Hatton, of Lombardfireet, Laceman. - Will. Smith the younger, of Winchester, Ironmonger .- Will. House, of St. Martin in the Fields, Tire-Smith - James Corrie, now or late of Stroud, Linen-draper, Kemp Bowman, of Briftol, Distiller and Merchant. - John Harvey the younger, now or late of Great Yarmouth, Ship-Carpenter .-John Tolet, of St. Stephen, Walbroke, Merchant .- John Read, of Briffol, Meal-Factor. -Will. Carmalt, late of St. Paul, Covent-Garden, Broker. - Kelland Heath, of Mark-Lane, London, Dealer in Sugars. - James King, of Winchester, Wollen-draper and Mercer .- John Cafwall and John Mount, of Lendon, Bankers and Partners.-William Dodfon, late of St. Olave, Southwark, Hofier .- The. Lloyd, of Long-Acre, Carpenter and Builder.

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PRESENTLY after the Revolution in P Ruffia, of which we gave an Account in our last, the Persons and Papers of Count Ofterman, Veldt Marthal Count Munich, and feveral of their Adherents, were feized, and Commissaries were appointed to examine them; since which all their Estates, Effects, and Dignities have been declared to be forfeited, and they are still detained in close Custody, but no corporal Punishment has, as yet, been inflicted upon any of them. The Grand Dutchess, her Husband, and Son, were immediately fent away, upon their Return to Mecklenbourg, without the least Indignity's being offered to any of them; and the new Empress has declared, that she will allow them a Pension for their Support.

The French and Bavarians having made themselves Masters of Prague, before the Austrian Army could come to its Relief, the latter thereupon retired towards Budgueis, but has fince, in different Parties, gained several Advantages over the former, the most remarkable of which are as follows: About the 20th of last Month, Voldt Marshal Keevenbuller, with a Part of the Austrian Army under his Command, happily passed the River Ens, and drove the Consederates from that Town, and likewife from Steyr. Upon this, all the French and Bavarian Troops in that Neighbourhood retired into Lines, to the Number of 6 or 7000 Men, where they were immediately furrounded and block'd up by the Austrians; and as they had no Store of Provitions along with them, it is thought they must surrender at Discretion; for, by the last Accounts, they were reduced to live upon Horse-flesh, and had been unsuccessful in all their Sallies. The Marshal having thus inclosed all the Confederate Troops in that Neighbourhood, in the Town of Lintz, M. Berenclau was fent with a Detachment towards Bavaria, and having furprized Reidt and Scharding, he opened a Way for the Hussars to make Incursions very far into the Territories of Bavaria. In order to dislodge the Austrians from Scharding, the Bavarians had gathered together a Body of 8000 Men, and had made an Attempt to furprize that Town in the Night-time, but being disappointed by the Vigilance of M. Berenclau, and the 6 Companies of Grenadiers, with a Body of Horse, which they had fent upon that Design, being next Day deseated, M. Berenclau, foon after, marched with all the Troops he had in Scharding, excepting only as many as were necessary for the Guard of the Town, and having joined M. Mentzel and the Troops under his Command, they marched together to the Village of Wittick, where the Enemy were posted, and having attacked them, they obtained an entire Victory.

We have an Account from Frankfort, that on the 13th of this Month, the Electoral

College unanimously chose Charles Albert Cajetan Elector of Bavaria, King of the Romans, and Emperor of Germany; and that he was to be crowned the 19th Inflant by his Brother the Elector of Cologne, in whose Fa-vour the Elector of Ments, whose sole Right it is to crown the Emperor, was, for this Time, pleased to dispense with it.

To balance the Advantages the Queen of Hungary has obtained in Austria, the Prussian Army, commanded by Count Schwerin, has entered Moravia, and feems to be carrying every Thing before them without Opposition; for on the 15th of last Month, the City of Olmutz was furrendered to them by Capitulation; and the King of Prussia is himself set out for his Army, in order to begin the Campaign early in the Spring, having in his Way thither, paid a Visit to the King of Poland at Drefden, where he arrived the 8th of this Month, and departed next Day.

But of all our late Pieces of Intelligence. the News from Spain and Italy are the most mysterious and surprizing. In our Magazine for November we gave an Account of the Spanis Fleet's failing, without Interruption, to Italy. Since that, we have an Account that their Squadron failed from Cadiz, and passed thro' the Streights, whilst our Squadron was lying at Gibraltar; and the' they paffed thro' in the Night-time, yet Fate, it seems, resolved, they should not pass unobserved by us; for next Morning, Nov. 25, a brisk East Wind came on, which drove them so far back, that they continued almost two Days' in Sight of our Squadron, which was, as 'tis faid, then repairing. On the 2d of December our Admiral failed, and in a few Days came up with the Spanish Squadron, in a Line of Battle: But when he was bearing down upon them, and ready to fall on, the French Toulon Squadron, flood in between, and fent a Meffage to our Admiral, That as the Spaniards and he were engaged in one and the fame Expedition, he must obey his Orders, and could not avoid taking them into his Protection. Whatever Orders our Admiral had, he had not Force enough to attack both, and was therefore obliged to turn Tail, and from thence proceed to Portmabon, to wait for a Reinforcement of Ships, and, perhaps, of Orders. But before he, it seems, received either, the French and Spanish Squadrons in Conjunction failed to Barcelona; and from thence they fet fail again on the 24th of last Month, with a second Embarkation for Italy.

Since the French Troops left the Island of Corfica, the brave Natives feem resolved to have another Struggle for freeing themselves from the Yoke of the Genoese; for several of their banished Chiefs are returned, and the Inhabitants are providing themselves with.

Arms, and other Utenfils of War.

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